

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Fourteenth Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation of Labor

HELD AT

Denver, Colorado,

December 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18

1894

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OFFICERS
OF THE
American Federation of Labor

PRESIDENT

JOHN McBRIDE, DeSoto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

P. J. McGUIRE, Box 884, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

JAMES DUNCAN, 746 McHenry Street, Baltimore, Md.

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT

ROADY KENEHAN, 1548 Wazee Street, Denver, Col.

FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT

T. J. ELDERKIN, 199 Randolph Street, Chicago.

TREASURER

JOHN B. LENNON, Station D, Box 30, New York City.

SECRETARY

AUG. McCRAITH, DeSoto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the Capitalist and the Laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the trade union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of Local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer Federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the

second Monday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention, the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Report of President; 4th, Report of Secretary; 5th, Resolutions; 6th, Laws; 7th, Organization; 8th, Labels and Boycotts; 9th, Grievances; 10th, Local or Federated bodies.

Sec. 4. The President shall direct the Chief Executive Officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations elect, who shall compose an auditing committee, and this committee shall meet at the place for holding the convention three days prior to the convention, and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months. The expenses of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Sec. 5. All resolutions of a general character, or propositions for changes in this Constitution, may be sent by delegates-elect or the officers of affiliated organizations to the Secretary of the A. F. of L., at least two weeks previous to the assembling of conventions; the Secretary shall have the same compiled and printed as a program of business and mailed to each delegate elect.

Sec. 6. The report of the Grievance Committee shall be considered in executive session.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates; and so on; and from each Local or District Trade organization or federated body, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 2. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the

roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than October 31 preceding each annual convention.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation or any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the A. F. of L., under penalty of suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 4. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, from the President of the Federation, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention, who shall constitute an Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices for the transaction of the business of the organization at Indianapolis, Ind.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all General Conventions; to exercise general supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents; to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council whenever required, in the interests of the Federation; to submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and at the end of his term of office he shall report his acts and doings to the annual Convention of the Federation. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interests of the Federation. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over all their deliberations, and he shall receive for his services such sum as the annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 2. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In the event of such a vacancy in said office, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue within six days from the date of such vacancy a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the annual Convention, and furnish to the Committee on Credentials at each Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body with the Federation; to forward, on March 1 and September 1 of each year, to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations, a list of names and addresses of secretaries and organizers in his possession; to keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the annual Convention may direct; to receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and to pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$250, for current expenses, which money shall only be paid out on the approval of the President; to submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; to close all accounts of the Federation on October 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after said date, shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention; to publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and to send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation. His office shall be located in the same office with that of the President. He shall give a bond of \$1,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property and security of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary. He shall deposit all moneys belonging to the Federation in bank, in his name as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; and before any moneys thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. He shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others. He shall submit to the annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books and papers of the Federation under his control, and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum

as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$100.

Sec. 2. All books and financial accounts shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade and Labor Unions and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions and connect them with the Federation until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed. When a National or International Union has been formed the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months their charter shall be revoked.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention in printed form a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts, and no endorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported upon by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

ARTICLE X.—STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

Section 1. In case any National or International or Local body affiliated with this Federation shall order a strike, or are locked out, and by reason of financial distress it shall be necessary for it to call upon the Federation for aid, the Executive Council, if they deem that such organization is entitled to receive such assistance, shall make an assessment, not exceeding 2 cents per member per week, upon every other National, International and Local body so affiliated with the Federation. Such assessment shall remain in force for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks, unless otherwise ordered by a general vote of all National and International Unions affiliated.

Sec. 2. Any National or International organization, or other body connected with this Federation, failing to comply with the requirements of Sec. 1 of this article, within a period of 30 days, shall be suspended, and shall not be reinstated until all arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 3. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the President of the Federation, giving a detailed account of the strike or lock-out.

Sec. 4. No affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to benefit from the strike fund of the Federation until they have been six months affiliated, have paid six months per capita tax to the Federation, and are in good standing.

ARTICLE XI.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one-fourth of one per cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Unions, one cent per member per month; and from Central Labor Unions of City and State Federated Bodies, \$6.25 every three months. All moneys shall be payable to the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears, it shall become suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention, when such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 4. Any organization that has withdrawn or been suspended or expelled, and not reinstated as provided for in Section 3 of this article, shall return its charter and seal to the office of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 5. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 6. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3.50 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution or the Constitution of affiliated Unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

ARTICLE XII.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

Section 1. No Central Labor Union or any other Central body of delegates shall admit to their councils delegates from any local organization that owes it allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of being denied representation in the General Convention of this Federation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Unions in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the A. F. of L. to all Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to the National or International Unions, affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the

formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize as Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen preclude other forms of organization.

ARTICLE XIII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and Local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; pro-

vided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee of affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and which shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The A. F. of L. shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and the Executive Officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

ARTICLE XIV.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE NAMES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS, THE NUMBER OF UNIONS REPRESENTED, AND THE NUMBER OF VOTES EACH DELEGATE IS ENTITLED TO.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	NUMBER OF VOTES FOR EACH DELEGATE	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Journeyman Barbers' International Union.....	1	17	W. E. Klapetzky, Box 585, Syracuse, N. Y.
Journeyman Bakers' and Confectioners' Internat'l Union.	1	50	Henry Weismann, 5 Boerum St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.....	1	41	John F. Tobin, 1 Church St, Rochester, N. Y.
Brass Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	10	Wm. Anderson, 2211 Montgomery St., St. Louis, Mo.
Brewery Workmen.....	2	30	Emil Guwang, 10½ Bluff St., Allegheny, Pa.
Carpenters' & Joiners' Br'th'd.	4	50	H. Hesse, 2301 7th St. Denver, Col.
		50	P. J. McGuire, Box 884 Philadelphia, Pa.
		50	Hugh McKay, 283 Lexington St., E. Boston, Mass.
		50	D. P. Rowland, 252 West Court St., Cincinnati, O.
		50	James J. Linehan, Rand-McNally Building, Chicago, Ill.
Carpenters & Joiners (Amal'd).	1	17	J. W. Quayle, 508 West Huron St., Chicago, Ill.
Carriage and Wagon Workers (International).....	1	8	M. Daughters, 44 North Maple St., Denver, Col.
Cigarmakers' International..	4	70	J. Mahlon Barnes, 8th and Callowhill Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
		70	Wm Neuroth, 1405 Larimer St., Denver, Col.
		60	Samuel Gompers, 308 East 125th St., N. Y. City.
		60	John C. Dornell, 39 Commerce building, Chicago, Ill.
Clerks' National Protective Association, Retail.....	1	28	L. M. Stern, Box 1415, Denver, Col.
Electrical Workers, National Brotherhood.....	1	20	J. T. Kelley, 904 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.
Garment Workers.....	1	100	A. J. Felz, Boston, Mass.
Glass Workers (Flint).....	1	73	Wm. J. Croke, 3131 South Adams St., Marion, Ind.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance.....	1	20	J. H. McCarthy, 1409 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.
Horseshoers (Journeyman)....	1	20	R. Kennehan, 1548 Wazee St., Denver, Col.
Iron Moulders Un'n of America	3	52	Jos. F. Valentine, 18½ Oak St., San Francisco, Cal.
		52	R. H. Metcalf, 166 Edward St., Cleveland, O.
		52	Martin Fox, Box 388, Cincinnati, O.
Iron and Steel Workers.....	2	40	John F. Killgallon, 108 4th Ave, Pittsburg, Pa.
		40	James Brettell, Mingo Junction, O.
Lasters' Protective Union.....	2	25	Ed. L. Daly, 620 Atlantic Ave, Boston, Mass.
Longshoremen, National Association.....	1	25	L. Wolfson, 4 Silsbee St., Lynn, Mass.
		25	Daniel Keefe, 3029 Lowe Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Machinist International Union	1	5	T. J. Morgan, 152 LaSalle St., Chicago Ill
Mine Workers (United).....	4	87	N. R. Hysell, Room 37, Butler Block, Columbus, O.
		86	P. H. Penna, Linton, Ind.
		86	P. M. Bryde, 53 Clint'n b'g, Columbus, O
		86	John Nugent, Shawnee, O.
Painters and Decorators.....	3	26	F. G. W. Cooper, 1052 Park Ave., New York City.
		27	M. W. Murphy, 189 East Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
		27	Joseph B. Allen, 1820 Poplar St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pattern Makers (Nat. League).	1	8	Geo. W. J. Stout, 311 16th St., Denver, Col.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES	NUMBER OF VOTES FOR EACH DELEGATE	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Pollishers' (Metal), Buffers' and Platers' N. U.....	1	8	Henry J. Elkhoff, 194 Vandyke Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Railway (St.) Employees' A. A.	1	40	W. D. Mahon, Hilsendagen Block, Detroit Mich.; Room 2.
Seamen's National Union.....	2	20	T. J. Elderkin, 199 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
		20	A. Furuseh, S.W. cor. East and Mission Sts., San Francisco Cal.
Tailors' (Journeymen).....	2	25	J. B. Lennon, 25 Lafayette Pl., N. Y. City.
		25	H. Cohen 130 Walton St., Denver, Col.
Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers.....	1	24	John Chester, 199 East Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Theatrical Stage Employees' National Alliance.....	1	20	Lee M. Hart, Bartl Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
Typographical Internat'l Union	4	80	William B. Prescott 7 De Soto blk., Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	W. Higgins, 1035 6th St., Louisville, Ky.
		80	A. McCallum, De Soto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	J. W. Bramwood, box 681, Denver Col.
State Branch (New York)	1	1	J. W. Sullivan, 200 Union St., Montclair, N. J.
State Branch (New Jersey)	1	1	Adolph Stasser, Buffalo, N. Y.
State Branch (Massachusetts).	1	1	T. F. Tracey, 506 E. 5th St., Boston, Mass.
Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Md.	1	1	James Duncan, 746 McHenry St., Baltimore, Md.
Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	1	H. C. Samuels, 1713 North Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
Federated Trades Assembly, Duluth, Minn.	1	1	A. McCallum, Box 1321, Duluth, Minn.
Trades Labor Assembly, Denver, Col.	1	1	And. McCallin, 321 Williams St., Denver, Col.
Trades Labor Assembly, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Geo. T. McNamara, 598 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Trades Labor Union St. Louis, Mo.	1	1	Philip A. Hother, 1213 Howard St., St. Louis, Mo.
Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Henry Lloyd, Jamaica Plains, Mass.
Central Labor Union, Toledo, O.	1	1	John Braunschweiger, 540 Knower St., Toledo, O.
Central Lab'r Un'n, Omaha, Neb.	1	1	August Beerman, Omaha, Neb.
Central Labor Union, Louisville, Ky.	1	1	Jas. McGill, 937 Stevenson Ave., Louisville, Ky.
Central Labor Council, San Francisco	1	1	W. McArthur, S.W. cor. East and Mission Sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Core Makers' Union, No. 6355... Engineers' (Steam) Prot. Union, No. 5703.	1	1	Chas. Greenbald, box 1423, Denver, Col.
Federal Labor Un'n (Women's), No. 2703.....	1	1	B. F. Lilly, 633 S. 12th St., Denver, Col.
Federal Labor Union, No. 3873.	1	10	Mrs. T. J. Morgan, 152 LaSalle St., Room 2, Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union (Phoenix), No. 6257.....	1	1	J. H. Ratigan, 45 Elliot St., Boston, Mass.
Fishermen's Prot. Union (Columbia River), No. 6321.....	1	12	W. C. Pomeroy, 118 Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
Musical Society, Chicago, Ill., No. 5454.....	1	9	N. J. Svindseth, Estoria, Ore.
Tobacco Pressmen and Helpers' Union, No. 6046.....	1	2	Frank Sjaegel, Denver, Col.
Manhattan Musical Prot. Un'n, No. 6382.....	1	10	E. Louis Evans, 1128 St. Ange Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Federal Labor Union, No. 6332.	1	1	Robert A. Mullen, 70 East 4th St., New York City.
Federal Labor Union, No. 5915.	1	1	Jerome Schamp, Lincoln, Neb.
Expressmen Union, No. 5909.....	1	1	John F. O'Sullivan, care of Boston Globe.
			A. E. Carter, 738 South Water St., Denver, Col.

The above list shows that 77 delegates were present, representing 56 organizations, 30 National and International, 3 State Branches, 11 Central Labor Bodies and 13 Local Unions.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
1894

Report of Proceedings.

FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Council Chamber,

Denver, Col., Dec. 10, 1894.

Convention called to order at 10 o'clock A. M. by President Gompers; Chris. Evans occupying his seat as Secretary.

President Gompers introduced Mr. Roady Kenchan, President of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, who welcomed the delegates to the city of Denver in a few well chosen words, and extended the greetings of the citizens of Colorado.

President Gompers replied to the cordial words of welcome, and, on behalf of the delegates said, substantially:

We do not expect to deal with the chimerical in our deliberations. We find ourselves confronted with a need for practical legislation. More than a million and a half laboring men are unemployed today. It is enough to make strong men weep and draw forth tears of pity for these people.

It is not often that a convention of wage-earners can be held in a city so far removed from the centre of industry. It may be the part of kind Providence that it was decided to hold this Convention at the beautiful city of Denver. And who knows—not today, nor tomorrow, nor even within the next decade—when, with the renewed energy of the American wage-workers, we shall see the forge, the factories and the mills where at present there

is a wilderness, and the Convention may be held still further toward the setting sun—at the Golden Gate.

I desire to say that wherever we meet, whether East or West, we will still repeat the historical struggle of the past and the present with all the fervor of hope for the toiling masses of our country. I repeat assurances of our appreciation of the reception we have received from our brothers of Denver, and can say that it is much beyond our expectation.

President Gompers announced the following Committee on Credentials: James Duncan, R. H. Metcalf, T. J. Elderkin, R. A. Mullen and T. F. Tracey.

The President then introduced the Hon. Thomas M. Patterson, who was invited to address the delegates upon "Labor's Rough and Noble Struggle."

Mr. Patterson read an interesting paper on the above subject, and the President announced that the Executive Council would, in all probability, see that the address was widely disseminated among organized labor. A unanimous vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Patterson for his eloquent and able address.

The Convention adjourned until 2 P. M. to give the Committee on Credentials time to complete its labors.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., with President Gompers in the chair.

The report of the Committee on Credentials was read by the chairman of the committee, as follows:

Denver, Col., December 10, 1894.

To the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your committee appointed to examine and report on the credentials of the delegates to the fourteenth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, beg leave to report that we have carefully examined the credentials from the following unions and respectfully request the seating of the delegates named. (See list on pages 7, 8.)

In presenting this report your Committee on Credentials take pleasure in reporting that we also have had placed before us the credentials of David Holmes and John Burns, representing the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, and it affords us unbounded pleasure to recommend to this Convention the seating of these

delegates from over the ocean and the granting to them of the full privileges of the Convention.

JAMES DUNCAN,
THOMAS F. TRACEY,
ROBERT A. MULLEN,
T. J. ELDERKIN,
R. H. METCALF.

The President announced the appointment of H. H. Buckwalter as Assistant Secretary and Frank Riddell as Sergeant-at-Arms. The appointments were confirmed.

President Gompers announced the appointment of the following Committee on Rules: Henry Lloyd, A. Hofher, Charles Greenhalge and N. J. Svinseth.

President Gompers called Treasurer Lennon to the chair.

President Gompers then read his report, which was as follows:

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

To the Delegates to the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Comrades and Fellow Workers:—We meet in convention under most inauspicious circumstances and at a time when the workers are still suffering from the paralysis of industry resulting from the incompetency of our modern captains of industry.

In a land so bountiful, so broad and yielding as ours, with a people earnest, energetic and vigorous, anxious and willing to produce the wealth so necessary to their existence and comfort, it is an indictment of our civilization, charging it and those responsible for it with the unnecessary and wanton misery of more than a million and a half of workless workers.

In the midst of these adverse circumstances, that trade unions have maintained their existence itself speaks well of them. That they have not succumbed to the fearful antagonism on the one hand and the disintegrating influences of lack of employment on the other is the best evidence that the movement has found the citadel of its protection and the road to its emancipation in the historic, the noble and the inspiring organization of the much abused trades unions.

Coming as we do to this far western magnificent city, which but a few years ago was waste land, we find in its progress a glowing eulogium upon the manhood and womanhood of America. There may be an appropriateness in our meeting here. The wrongs of the past and the errors of the present, is it a faint hope to express that they may be dashed to death at the foot of the mighty Rockies, and that Labor inspired by the hopes of successes yet to come and human conditions yet to be achieved, may overcome all obstacles in its way and establish peace on earth and good will among all mankind?

Comrades of labor, pioneers in the cause of right and justice, I greet you.

MINERS' STRIKE.

In the early part of the year the United Mine Workers of America, in convention assembled, resolved that a uniform scale of prices should be required from all coal operators in the country, and in consequence of their refusal to concede the rate a general strike ensued, involving more than 125,000 workmen. The movement became thorough and general, and gave evidence of the inherent feeling of solidarity among the wageworkers of the country, especially as an unusually large number of the men who came out on strike were not members of any organization. The strike lasted eight weeks, and resulted in a compromise which, though not achieving the full success designed by the movement, yet established a minimum rate.

It is not too much to say that it was the industrial stagnation from which the country was suffering that robbed the miners of a deserved victory. The extent of this depression can be readily understood when it is stated that, notwithstanding the cessation of the work of 125,000 miners, there was little dearth of coal as fuel.

RAILROAD STRIKE.

Close upon the heels of the termination of the miners' strike came the inauguration of the great strike on the railroads, caused by the employes of Pullman requesting a consideration of the grievances from which they suffered.

The American Railway Union, then having been organized about a year, sought to persuade the Company to either grant the request of the employees or to submit the matter in controversy to arbitration. Both of these requests were refused and the A. R. U. declared that its members would not handle or equip cars or trains to which Pullman cars were attached.

The Railway Managers' Association refused to discontinue the use of the tabooed cars, and as a consequence the conflict was on.

It is needless to enter into the details connected with this great strike. Suffice it to say that it was probably the most widespread railroad strike and called forth more expressions of solidarity on the one hand and antagonism on the other than any other similar movement of our time.

Incident to the strike the Federal Courts were appealed to by the corporations. The courts granted omnibus injunctions prohibiting the men from exercising both their natural and legal rights, and for alleged violations of these injunctions were summarily brought before the courts, thus practically depriving men from the right of trial by jury.

By order of the President of the United States the Federal troops were sent into several states under the plea of preserving the Interstate Commerce uninterrupted, but in truth to overawe the men on strike. The much vaunted rights of the States to autonomous government were set at naught, and despite the protests of the Governors into whose states the Federal troops were sent, a haughty and disdainful contempt for their authority was the only answer vouchsafed.

The organized workers of America are not lawless, nor are they less loyal to the country than their fellow-citizens in other walks of life, but we should assert that if the constitutions of our country and our states are binding upon us wage-workers, they are equally so upon the highest authority in our land. The President of the United States has no more legal or moral right to violate the constitutional guarantees to our people and our states than the humblest citizen, and it is only by a manly and intelligent determination to maintain and defend our rights that we can hope to perpetuate our republic, and hand it down to posterity not only unimpaired but improved.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE R. R. STRIKE.

In connection with the railroad strike it is necessary to give an account of the stewardship of your Executive Council, more especially since considerable adverse criticism has been indulged in as to the course pursued by us, and particularly the President.

In the early part of the strike the office of the A. F. of L. was deluged with letters and telegrams giving an account of the movement and keeping us fully advised of the situation. Between the 6th and 8th of July a number of trade unions had resolved to go out in sympathy with the objects sought by the strike. On the 9th inst. a telegram was received stating that the Trades and Labor Unions of Chicago had met by representatives on the day previous, and insisted that my duty towards organized labor demanded my presence at Chicago at the earliest possible moment.

It seemed to me that to go there either as an individual or as President of the A. F. of L. would be most unwise and impractical, inasmuch as I could not take any tangible official action. It being about the time when an Executive Council meeting would be held at the official headquarters, I placed myself in telegraphic communication with the members of the Council and obtained their consent to call a meeting at Chicago.

It was also deemed opportune to invite the executive officers of a number of national and international trades unions of the country to meet the Executive Council in an advisory capacity. The meeting took place at the Briggs House, Chicago, when the entire subject matter was discussed in all its bearings. Mr. Eugene V. Debs, President of the A. R. U., was invited to address the Council, and present to us what he in his judgment, believed the Executive Council could or should do under the circumstances. He most eloquently depicted the conditions which caused the strike and boycott, and submitted a proposition which he asked your President to lay before the Railway Managers' Association. It is but proper to say that when Mr. Debs made this proposition, every member of the Executive Council and every member of the conference accepted it as a declaration on his part that the strike had failed, since it contained the provision for the strikers to return to work unconditionally.

The conference continued to discuss the situation and Mr. Debs' proposition until after one o'clock in the morning, but not desirous of reaching a hasty conclusion an adjournment was taken until 9:30 of the same day. The discussion was renewed and it was then the Council and the conference prepared the statement in which we declared that it would be unwise and disastrous to the interests of labor to extend the strike any further than it had already gone and requested our fellow-unionists of other trades who were out in sympathetic strike to return to work.

Accompanying this you will find the proposition* Mr. Debs submitted to us and the statement** issued by the Executive Council.

I have stated that the action taken in this matter by your Executive Council has been adversely criticised, and I submit to this convention the fact that either the Executive Council acted in a manner becoming the high interests entrusted to our care, to protect and defend the interests of labor, or we were untrue to the confidence reposed in us.

We have the right to and do insist that this convention shall in emphatic terms either approve or disapprove the course taken by us. I shall certainly accept your verdict as either a vote of confidence or a want of confidence.

We have remained silent under criticisms and abuse, believing that we owe it to you, the representatives of organized labor of our country, to say whether the course pursued by us was practicable and justifiable or otherwise.

*Page 133, August issue, American Federationist.

**Page 125, August issue, American Federationist.

IMMIGRATION.

With respect to the subject of immigration and the competition to which our workers are subjected by the importation of aliens under contract to work in this country, I feel called upon to direct your attention to the satisfactory spirit in which the immigration officials have, for the past year or more, co-operated with us. On many occasions I have been required to visit Ellis Island, where the great majority of all immigrants land, and I have been in constant communication with the officials there, both by correspondence and in person. The A. F. of L. has taken a positive stand upon this subject, and in the endeavor to have its position recognized in law and the execution of law, I have given the matter considerable thought. I have been asked by the Commissioner of Immigration in a large number of instances to furnish, or to aid in furnishing, evidence bearing upon the question of the admissibility of immigrants who had arrived, or were expected to arrive and were suspected of being contract laborers in various lines of industry. That these efforts to exclude suspected persons were not always successful was by no means the fault of the immigration authorities, who, of course, were bound to act within the limits of the law, but who uniformly exhibited a desire to aid in excluding foreign laborers in all cases where the law would support such action.

The immigration laws contain some good points, and should not be assailed in a wholesale manner. Nevertheless, they could be amended in several respects to our distinct advantage.

Contract laborers who are defamed by the decision of the immigrant authorities from landing, are required to be immediately deported to the countries from whence they came. Inasmuch as, however, they are, in most instances, the main witnesses against contractors in cases of suits brought in our court for the recovery of the legal penalties, the deportation of such immigrants often makes it difficult to succeed in such prosecutions of contractors.

In order to avoid the keeping of immigrants as witnesses for an indefinite time awaiting the trial in the ordinary course, power should be given for proceeding before the courts on complaint of an Immigration Commissioner and for the bringing of summary proceedings, to be tried by court and jury, with the immigrants as witnesses. This would avoid dependence upon the local United States District Attorneys, who are by no means specialists on the immigration laws, and who have not shown a disposition to enforce existing law. It should also be provided that false testimony before the Boards of Special Inquiry, authorized to decide questions of the admissibility of immigrants, shall be perjury.

Immigrants who have been debarred a landing, as coming in violation of law as contract laborers, should be prohibited by statute from entry to any port of the United States for at least one year thereafter.

One of the most efficient steps which, in my judgment, should be taken to secure the exclusion of immigrants whom the spirit of the law forbids to land in this country would be the appointment of special agents under the Immigration Bureau who should be authorized to go to foreign ports and return per stercora, making covertly such inquiries and investigations as would lead to the detection of intending immigrants who come in violation of the law.

The fact that certain classes of "servants" have been permitted to land by reason of a technical defect in the law shows that the statute should be amended so as to exclude all kinds of foreign laborers who come here under contract.

The best efforts of the immigration officials to enforce the law are thwarted by many difficulties, among which is the coaching of immigrants by foreign ticket agents and officers of steamship lines, who instruct immigrants as to the manner in which they may evade official interrogations. The law should make such coaching a misdemeanor. The present law authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue a warrant for the arrest of any alien laborer who has landed, and who he is satisfied came under contract, at any time within one year after his landing, and to cause him to be deported. This power has been exercised in a number of cases which have come to my notice. While the immigration laws should certainly be amended in this and some other particulars, the laws should as certainly not be subjected to radical or experimental changes. The amendments should be confined to provisions which commend themselves to sensible men as practicable and feasible of execution. The services of the inspectors of the contract labor division of the Bureau of Immigration, it is to be remembered, have been chiefly beneficial by reason of their preventive nature. The importation of contract laborers has for some time practically ceased (due, no doubt, to the lack of employment for those already here,) save in a few exceptional cases where adroit and unscrupulous employers have succeeded, by instruction of immigrants before importation, in evading the law. The exclusion at the port of admission and the deportation of contract laborers would exercise the influence of preventing many others from emigrating.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

The Secretary of State negotiated a treaty with the representative of the Chinese government in reference to Chinese immigration. The Executive Council, after due consideration of the matter and after obtaining the best legal advice, concluded that the treaty was a departure from the policy of our government, and inimical to the interests of labor to have the matter of Chinese immigration subject to treaty stipulation with a foreign government. It had taken years of agitation and education to recover the right by which our people could legislate upon this subject, exclusively from the standpoint of our own interests, without intervention or question from the Chinese government.

There is no antipathy on the part of American workmen to Chinese because of their nationality, but a people which have allowed civilization to pass them by untouched and uninfluenced, a people who allow themselves to be barbarously tyrannized over in their own country, and who menace the progress, the economic and social standing of the workers of other countries, cannot be fraternized with. We are opposed to the servile of all countries, our own included.

In view of these facts a determined protest was made against the ratification of the treaty, and although we failed to secure its rejection our action resulted in its postponement for several months.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEGRAPH.

During the year several hearings were given by the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads of the House upon the bills for the government ownership of telegraphs and telephones, at which, with representatives of the International Typographical Union and other trades unions, we appeared and made arguments in its favor, urging the consolidation of the best features of both bills. The committee made considerable progress in the consideration of the bill, and the belief exists that they will report it favorably. We have endeavored to carry on the agitation vigorously, but we should direct some of our attention to the employees in the government service, that they may organize voluntary trade unions, in order that their interests may be furthered and protected. If we take practical action there is little doubt that the near future will crown our labors with success.

DONATIONS OF MONEY.

The Executive Council has during the year made donations of money to several organizations to aid them in the prosecution of their work, and also one of \$500 towards the defense of Mr. Eugene V. Debs. Our Secretary will report to you in greater detail upon these subjects.

SEAMEN'S BILLS.

The bills introduced in the House by Congressman Maguire in the interest of Seamen were being advanced. The National Seamen's Union had a representative at Washington for several months and a committee of the Cigar Makers was at the capital in the interest of the Union of that trade, together with your President, rendering the effort material assistance.

The bills were to be reported favorably when the great railroad strike occurred. The strike had the effect of arousing the antagonism of many who were theretofore favorably inclined towards the bill and prevented its favorable report during the last session. I would urge this convention to authorize positive and affirmative action relative to these bills.

The seamen sailing under the American flag suffer involuntary servitude. Investigation has demonstrated the fact they receive poorer and less food than do the seamen sailing under the flag of any other civilized nation. The present conditions are a menace to the rights of our seamen, detrimental to the true interests of our merchant marine, and a disgrace to the statute books of our country.

NATIONAL LABOR DAY.

It affords me pleasure to be enabled to report that the demand made by the American Federation of Labor for making the first Monday in September of each year a legal holiday passed Congress and was made a law on June 28, 1894. This slight concession to labor is the only sunbeam of the entire legislation of the last session of Congress of a labor or reformatory character.

LABOR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

A bill was introduced by the Hon. Thomas W. Phillips in the House for the purpose of creating a commission, to be appointed by the President, for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of industry and to what extent the people have been deprived of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of the Independence. The bill prescribes that representatives from organized labor, business men and farmers shall be appointed.

The Executive Council indorsed the bill and organized labor generally approved it, forwarding resolutions to their respective Congressmen and Senators certifying to that effect. It is desirable that the bill before its final passage should receive the consideration of this convention to say whether any amendments may be required.

Copies of the bill will be laid before the appropriate committee, to which this subject may be referred.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

In compliance with the resolution favoring the remonetization of silver at a ratio of 16-1, with the approval of the Executive Council, I aided as far as lay in my power to agitate upon this subject, the Bi-Metallic League acting in co-operation. A large number of circulars were distributed throughout the country on the subject, and a better appreciation of the matter is now had by the members of our respective organizations, as well as our national legislators.

LABOR CONFERENCE.

Owing to the failure of the K. of L. officers in the early part of the year to call the conference for the unification of the labor forces of the country to participate in which the last convention was invited to send and did elect three delegates, the belief prevailing generally that the conference would not be called, whereupon Mr. Joseph R. Buchanan, a member of the Typographical Union, called one for the same purpose, which was held April 28-9, 1894, at Philadelphia, Pa. It was largely attended and decidedly representative in character. At first there was a disposition to arrange conditions of unity, but it was finally resolved that the Knights of Labor be requested to summon the conference, which their convention directed on or before July 2, 1894. It was further resolved that, if the conference were not called by the date named, another call be issued for a conference, to take place September 15, 1894, to take definite action upon the matter.

The Philadelphia gathering evidently had the desired effect, for the second day thereafter it was announced that the K. of L. had decided to summon the conference to be held June 11 at St. Louis, Mo.

CONFERENCE WITH THE K. OF L.

The conference to which the Chicago convention selected delegates took place June 11-12, at the Laclede Hotel, St. Louis, Mo. The organizations represented were as follows:

American Federation of Labor.
Knights of Labor.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.
Order of Railway Conductors.
Green Bottle Blowers' National Union.
Farmers' Alliance.

Your representatives will submit their report during this convention. I need merely state here that at this conference, called by the K. of L.,—that body inviting the organizations it desired—maintained and endorsed the attitude always taken by the American Federation of Labor, *i. e., the complete autonomy of the trade organization, and disapproved dual organizations or dual authority in any one trade.* It will be necessary for this convention to take some action upon the proposition to hold the semi-annual conferences. The matter is submitted to your careful consideration without further comment.

THE PROGRAMME.

At the last convention a programme was submitted to our affiliated organizations for discussion, to be reported upon at this convention. In connection with this matter it is but proper to say that the submission of this programme to our organizations was largely accepted by the membership as an indorsement of it by the Federation.

A number of the demands contained in that programme have been promulgated in almost every trade union throughout the world, but deftly dove-tailed and almost hidden there is one declaration which is not only controversial, but decidedly theoretical and which even if founded upon economic truth, is not demonstrable, and so remote as to place ourselves and our movement in an unenviable light before our fellow-workers, and which, if our organization is committed to it, will unquestionably prevent many sterling national trade unions from joining our ranks to do battle with us to attain first things first.

It is ridiculous to imagine that the wage-workers can be slaves in employment and yet achieve control at the polls. There never yet existed co-incidence with each other autocracy in the shop and democracy in political life. In truth, we have not yet achieved the initial step to the control of public affairs by even a formal recognition of our unions. Nor does the preamble to the programme outline the condition of the labor movement of Great Britain accurately. In that country the organized wage-workers avail themselves of every legal and practical means to obtain the legislation they demand. They endeavor to defeat those who oppose, and elect those who support, legislation in the interest of labor, and whenever opportunity affords elect a *bona fide* union man to Parliament and other public offices. The Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress is a labor committee to lobby for labor legislation. This course the organized workers of America may with advantage follow, since it is based upon experience and fraught with good results.

He would indeed be shortsighted who would fail to advocate independent voting and political action by union workmen. We should endeavor to do all that we possibly can to wean our fellow-workers from their affiliation with the dominant political parties, as one of the first steps necessary to insure wage-workers to vote in favor of wage-workers' interests, wage-workers' questions, and for union wage-workers as representatives.

During the past year the trade unions in many localities plunged into the political arena by nominating their candidates for public office, and sad as it may be to record, it is nevertheless true, that in each one of these localities politically they were defeated and the trade union movement more or less divided and disrupted.

What the results would be if such a movement were inaugurated under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, involving it and all our affiliated organizations, is too portentous for contemplation. I need only refer you to the fact that the National Labor Union, the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor, entered the so-called independent political arena in 1872 and nominated its candidate for the presidency of the United States. It is equally true that the National Labor Union never held a convention after that event. The disorganized condition of labor, with its tales of misery, deprivation and demoralization, from that year until the reorganization of the workers about 1880, must be too vivid in the minds of those who were trade unionists then and are trade unionists now to need recounting by me.

In view of our own experience, as well as the experience of our British fellow-unionists, I submit to you whether it would be wise to steer our ship of labor safe from that channel whose waters are strewn with shattered hopes and unions destroyed.

Before we can hope as a general organization to take the field by nominating candidates for office, the workers must be more thoroughly organized and better results achieved by experiments locally. A political labor movement cannot and will not succeed upon the ruins of the trade unions.

This convention is an important one, more important than any previously held. We require a comprehensive view of the field, close discrimination, wise and deliberate counsel and aggressive action, so as to enable us to overcome all obstacles in the way and achieve all the rights of labor.

INDUSTRIAL STAGNATION.

At this moment the workers are in a most deplorable condition. While it is true that there is a slight turn in industrial affairs and the tending is upward, the labor organizations will be more severely strained during this present winter.

Unless, however, every indication is incorrect, and cause and effect lose their logical sequence, we are within a year of an industrial revival which in activity and intensity will far surpass that of any previous period. Of these facts there is no division of opinion among close observers.

REVIVAL IN ORGANIZATION.

With this turn in industry will come the greater necessity for and growth of labor organizations. The question is presented to our consideration whether we will grasp the situation and make such preparation as will enable us to reap the harvest for the wage-workers; or whether we will by our lethargy or shortsightedness permit the opportunity to pass, and only be the casual and partial beneficiaries. Much will depend upon the legislation and action of this convention.

SUCCESS ATTENDS CONCENTRATED EFFORT.

I am fully persuaded in the belief that if this convention shall decide to concentrate its efforts and urge the course of action of our fellow-workers to the attainment of a few of the pressing and immediate needs, we shall certainly be successful in securing the improvements so necessary to the welfare of the country's workers and enabled to prepare for the contest to achieve the abolition of the great and underlying evils and wrongs of our modern industrial system.

EIGHT-HOUR WORKDAY IN 1896.

It may be true that we have not been entirely successful in the past to generally establish the eight-hour workday. We should bear in mind, however, that no real great reform or improvement was ever attained by the first or even the second attempt. The questions with us should be, Is the eight-hour workday a rightful demand? Is it worth striving for? Will it prove advantageous to the workers and the people generally? If we answer either or all affirmatively we should take up this great question of an eight-hour workday and made it the rallying cry and the trade unions the rallying ground, for its achievement in 1896.

If this convention should approve this recommendation—and to me both it and the time seem opportune—let it make the declaration openly and boldly. We can and will secure it both on the economic and political field.

We can prepare for and insist upon:

1. The preparation for a universal demand for an eight-hour workday for all labor, or, if it be regarded as more practical, one or more trades may be selected (with the consent of the organizations interested,) and at the proper time make the demand, our entire organizations and their resources being pledged to the support of the movement.
2. We should demand the enforcement of the eight-hour law and its extension to all government employes.
3. That all work for the government shall be performed by the government, without the intervention of contractors.
4. The enactment of a law by the general government and by the several States prohibiting the employment of women and children in factories, shops, mills or mines for a longer period than eight hours a day.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

Since the great strikes of the past year the public mind has been agitated in an effort to obviate them. No earnest man can doubt the sincerity of the motives prompting this agitation, but it is evident that designing persons are simply utilizing this growing sentiment for the purpose of injuring the present standing as well as the future progress of the wage-workers and their only means of defence—their organizations.

A number of Congressmen and Congressmen-elect have written to me with the object of introducing bills providing for Compulsory Arbitration, and so persistent have they been in this regard that I deem it my duty to bring the subject of this danger to your particular notice, and more especially one of the logical features which is a necessary adjunct to Compulsory Arbitration and which is sought to be incorporated in such a prospective measure.

It is generally accepted that in the consideration of the question of compulsory arbitration, there is one means by which an award against labor could be enforced but that the imposition of those conditions are tantamount to chattel slavery, hence the alternative proposition to make the organizations and the funds of organizations attachable for the failure of any workman to abide by a decision which may be awarded against us, or in the absence of such funds, compel the placing of a bond by the trade union for the enforcement of such an award.

I beg to submit that in few if any instances would awards be rendered against the trade unions, when the trade would be thoroughly organized, but during the period of organization, or through an unauthorized hasty action of a member, the entire union could be placed in peril, its future and its efficacy destroyed and the workers placed at the tender mercies of their employers. Disputes between the workers and employers may be generally adjusted by arbitration, but if they are, it will only come when the workers are better organized, when their power and their rights have received greater recognition.

The first step must be organization, the second conciliation, the next, possibly, arbitration, but compulsory arbitration—never.

LABEL LECTURERS.

The last convention decided upon a system of sending out lecturers to advocate the exercise by labor of its influence in compelling the production of union made and union labelled goods, the expenses incurred to be borne pro rata by the organizations issuing such labels. Every prep-

aration was made to carry out the instructions, but many of the organizations were financially embarrassed by reason of the large number of members unemployed and could not meet the levy laid upon them.

As a consequence the Executive Council felt that it would be unjust to those organizations which had paid to require them to bear the entire expense of such an agitation, and therefore deferred final action upon it, preferring that this convention should again consider the subject.

SHOE WORKERS' AND BREWERS' LABELS.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union and the Lasters' Protective Union have made application for an indorsement of their label, but there are such circumstances connected with the label, so far as ownership and control are concerned, that the Council preferred that the matter be decided by this convention.

The Journeymen Brewers' National Union made an application for the indorsement of their label. The circumstances connected with it are somewhat similar to the case of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and the subject matter was also referred to you for decision.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

The trade unions of California have urged that the Executive Council take action to protest against any Congressional action for the funding of the debt of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railways. Our brothers on the coast maintain that the people have been defrauded out of vast sums of money in the case of these companies and that the funding of the debt should not be permitted. They have counselled that with the refusal of Congress to fund the debt the roads would revert to the Government and that this would be an advisable initial step towards the government ownership and control of the railroads.

The Council preferred to obtain the decision of the convention upon the matter.

THE JEFFERSON BORDEN "MUTINEERS."

I regret to be compelled to report that the President of the United States has refused to grant the petition of organized labor, as well as a very large body of officers and owners of vessels and citizens generally, to pardon the unfortunate seamen, George Miller and Ephraim Clark, who are suffering imprisonment because they dared defend themselves against the brutality of a human monster on board the Jefferson Borden. As to the advisability of renewing the application during the term of President Cleveland, we leave this convention to judge. (Since writing this report I learn that George Miller died December 2.)

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS MEDIATORS.

In a large number of instances the services of the members of the Executive Council were secured by affiliated organizations in conferences with employers to adjust trade disputes; it is pleasing to add that in most cases the arrangements were mutually satisfactory. I am certainly convinced that many strikes and lockouts would be avoided if employers would more generally recognize the right of workmen to be heard by counsel—their officers and committees. It is evident that labor will have to conquer this right before its general acceptance.

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE.

The last convention directed the President to issue a magazine, to be the official journal of the American Federation of Labor designating that officer as its editor. Pursuant to that order the Executive Council decided that the name of the magazine should be the *American Federationist*, and it becomes my pleasant duty to report that the publication has regularly appeared monthly since March, with good results both to our organization and our cause.

I have endeavored to conduct the magazine as a free and open forum for all schools of economic thought, reserving the editorial utterances to a strict advocacy of such principles and policies upon which trade unionists are agreed. It is some source of gratification to be able to say to you that the *American Federationist* has met with general commendation and that the labor and reform press of the country look upon it rather as a co-operator than a competitor. Financially considered the magazine has more than paid the cost of its publication.

I would recommend to your consideration the advisability of according the President the opportunity of greater assistance, both in his office work, correspondence and editorial management of the magazine.

BURNS—HOLMES.

It is needless to say that we are highly gratified that the British Trades Union Congress has honored us beyond measure in sending to this convention two of their most worthy and honored representatives. The names of David Holmes and John Burns, who have been selected for the high honor and whom we are proud to greet, are men whose noble words and humane deeds will live long after them. They come to us as messengers of peace and good will. Their coming among us is the harbinger of that unity and solidarity necessarily a prerequisite to the emancipation from the thralldom of ignorance, prejudice and wrong. Their presence is a declaration that though men may be proud of country, humanity is a higher consideration than nationality.

I would recommend to your consideration the feasibility of continuing the interchange of these visits of the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor respectively, in the hope that the movement of labor for amelioration and emancipation may be accelerated by the heartbeats of fraternity, the inspiring aspiration of liberty, the cultivation of that one "touch of nature which makes all the world akin."

I feel confident that I but faintly express to John Burns and David Holmes your sentiments and mine when I say to them: Brothers, you are welcome, a thousand times welcome among us.

HIGHER DUES AND MORE BENEFITS.

Time and again in my reports and through other avenues I have called attention to the fact that the greatest means to the success, and particularly the permanency of the trade unions, lies in the establishment of beneficial as well as protective features. I commend this matter to your consideration in the hope that our affiliated trade unions may take advantage of the opportunity presented, and at the earliest time within their power establish the payment of higher dues, giving the members in return more and greater benefits, while at the same time saving the organizations from the fluctuations inseparable from unions based upon low dues.

During the crisis from which we have been suffering since the summer of 1893, there is but one National trade union affiliated with the A. F. of L. which has had a continuous growth in membership and that organization is the one which has the system of high dues and benefits more generally established than any of the others. I merely mention this fact as a demonstration of the general proposition and in the hope that it may be taken advantage of by our fellow trade unionists. The growth in the unions adopting the system suggested may at the first be somewhat slower, but it will be accelerated in time and be continuous and permanent.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to say that I should be less than human were I not to appreciate the very many courtesies and kindnesses extended to me by our fellow unionists throughout the country, and it is but scant justice to acknowledge my deep sense of obligation to them, and our general organizers, our volunteer hosts of pioneers who carry the trade union doctrine into the homes and into the hearts of our fellow unionists. No words of mine can fully express either the great work they are doing, the sacrifices they bear, the disinterestedness of their noble efforts or the great good they accomplish.

To my colleagues of the Executive Council, to whom I owe so much for their co-operation and advice, I would simply say, friends, brothers, advisers, you have been tried and never found wanting. This I know to be the general verdict of labor, in which I most heartily and cordially concur.

You, fellow trade unionists and fellow delegates, let me remind you that in no convention of the American workers have the eyes of the civilized, the thoughtful, the strong and the weak, the free and the downtrodden, the abject and the independent, been so thoroughly concentrated as upon this gathering of the representatives of the nation's toilers. Permit me to express the hope that the trusts reposed in us will find an abiding place in our minds and hearts, and that we shall prove ourselves loyal and true, devoted to the interests of our fellow wage workers, whose safety for the present and hope for the future are now committed to our keeping.

The report was enthusiastically received and Secretary Evans then read his report, as on motion was ordered referred to the proper committee when appointed.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

To the Delegates to the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Workers:—As representatives of the Trades Union movement, meeting together as you do to try and improve upon the present system of wrong and injustice, I greet you and hope that by our united efforts we shall succeed in placing the wage earners of our country upon a higher plane.

Thousands of brave men with willing hands to work have sought employment in vain during the past year, and at the present time the number of the unemployed is alarmingly large and poverty reigns supreme among workmen everywhere. This condition of affairs cannot and should not be allowed to exist among workmen ready and anxious to earn a livelihood for themselves and those depending upon them for support.

Owing to the extreme depression in trade during the past year many organizations have been taxed to their utmost capacity to keep the members together and maintain their unions. For these reasons a large number of applications for donations to help them through the hard times have been made, and while the funds in the treasury at the disposal of the Executive Council were not sufficient to meet the wants of all, the following donations have been made to the unions and persons named:

Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.....	\$ 150 00
German-American Typographers.....	250 00
United Mine Workers of America.....	1,300 00
Journeyman Tailors' Union of America.....	750 00
National Seamen's Union.....	200 00
Journeyman Bakers and Confectioners' International Union.....	250 00
Factory Employees' Union No. 5,999.....	50 00
S. A. Dabney, delegate to thirteenth annual convention.....	18 00
William Hughes, delegate to thirteenth annual convention.....	30 00
Samuel Ross, delegate to thirteenth annual convention.....	20 00
F. M. Notton, Ironwood, Mich.....	55 34
Eugene V. Debs.....	500 00

Total\$3,573 34

At the last convention the Committee on Secretary's Report recommended the following, which was adopted:

"As it will be necessary to give financial assistance at times to affiliated bodies to maintain their organization, we recommend that a special fund be created for that purpose by setting aside 15 per cent. from the monthly receipts, from which the Executive Council can donate sums in such amounts as they deem necessary."

In accordance with the above decision the sum set aside for this purpose amounts to \$2,301.96. In addition to this \$1,271.38 has been taken from the general fund to help along the work of organization in the trades.

The following table will show the amounts received and expended during the year:

RECEIPTS.	
Per Capita Tax and Supplies	\$12,787 99
Donation	5 39
Assessment	134 75
Subscription American Federationist	919 55
Advertisements American Federationist	1,498 75
Balance in treasury Nov. 1, 1893.....	7,147 44
Total	\$22,493 87

EXPENSES.	
Donations	\$ 3,573 34
Supplies	609 41
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, President	426 40
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, First Vice-President	112 50
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, Second Vice-President	189 75
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, Third Vice-President	157 25
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, Fourth Vice-President	190 00
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, Secretary	101 00
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, Treasurer	92 00
Traveling and Hotel Expenses, Wm. A. Carney, Ex. 2d V. P.	10 50
Organizing	448 49
Tax for Label Lecturers returned to International Typo. Union	322 23
Miscellaneous	172 19
Postage and Stamped Envelopes	580 08
Expressage	166 64
Printing	1,471 50
Rent, Fuel, Gas and Office Cleaning	542 64
Salaries, President	1,800 00
" Secretary	1,500 00
" Treasurer	100 00
" Clerk	748 50
" Stenographer	663 00
" Office Boy	224 50
Stationery	47 43
Janitor, Sergeant-at-Arms, Messenger and Ass't Secretary Chicago Con- vention	128 50
Auditing Committee Chicago Convention	39 00
Sergeant-at-Arms Chicago Conference	7 00
Telegrams and Cablegrams	193 57
Printing for American Federationist	1,785 34
Commission Advertising Agents American Federationist	800 45
Commission Local Agents American Federationist	18 87
Articles and Literary Work on American Federationist	80 00
Total	\$17,302.08
Balance in Treasury Nov. 1, 1894	\$5,191 79

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY.

1887.	
Total Receipts	\$ 2,100 34
Total Expenses	2,074 39
Balance	\$25 95
1888.	
Total Receipts	\$ 4,538 50
Total Expenses	3,933 67
Balance	\$604 83
1889.	
Total Receipts	\$ 7,443 23
Total Expenses	6,578 33
Balance	\$864 90

1890.		
Total Receipts	\$24,714 64	
Total Expenses	21,070 57	
Balance		3,644 07
1891.		
Total Receipts	\$21,346 43	
Total Expenses	13,190 07	
Balance		8,156 36
1892.		
Total Receipts	\$25,990 87	
Total Expenses	18,324 69	
Balance in Treasury		\$7,666 18
1893.		
Total Receipts	\$28,530 80	
Total Expenses	21,383 36	
Balance in Treasury		\$7,147 44
1894.		
Total Receipts	\$22,493 87	
Total Expenses	17,302 08	
Balance in treasury		5,191 79

The above statement shows that \$3,573.34 has been donated to the unions named from this year's receipts, and when we consider that this amount has been taken out of the general fund without any assessments being levied upon the organizations affiliated, it is a good omen and one of the most convincing proofs that the A. F. of L. has weathered the storm bravely and is in pretty good shape to battle on for labor reform.

Itemized reports have been sent every three months to all unions entitled to receive them.

For the year just closed 167 charters have been issued to Local and Federal Labor Unions, Central Labor Bodies and State Federations, in thirty States, as follows:

California	1	Missouri	10
Colorado	3	Minnesota	4
Connecticut	4	Montana	1
Florida	2	Nebraska	10
Georgia	1	New Hampshire	1
Indiana	7	New York	13
Illinois	14	Ohio	18
Iowa	4	Oregon	1
Kansas	2	Pennsylvania	3
Kentucky	3	Rhode Island	3
Louisiana	2	Tennessee	4
Maine	2	Texas	2
Maryland	1	Wisconsin	15
Massachusetts	15	Washington	1
Michigan	19	West Virginia	1

Five charters to National Unions have also been granted to the following trades: Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, Stove Mounters' International Union, Order of Commercial Telegraphers, National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and Pattern Makers' National League, making a total of 172 for the year. Quite a number of applications for charters have been received and referred to National Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., as follows: Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers; Tanners and Curriers; Painters and Decorators of America; Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees; United Garment Workers of America; Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance, and Coopers' International Union; together with two more that have been forwarded to National Unions not affiliated, one to the National League of Musicians and one to the National Union of Textile Workers. Much valuable work has been done in this line by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and great credit is due them for the time and labor devoted in organizing the various trades mentioned.

I beg to suggest the following amendments to the Constitution:

ART. IV., Sec. 2. Strike out all after the word "to" on line 5, and insert the following: "Based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than October 31st preceding each annual convention."

Art. IV., Sec. 4. On line 3, after word "Federation," strike out the word "but" and insert the word "and."

To insert a new section in Art. IX, to read as follows: "Sec. 4. Any Union that has withdrawn or has been suspended or expelled, and not reinstated as provided for in Section 3 of this article, shall return its charter and seal to the office of the American Federation of Labor."

With the adoption of this amendment Sections 4 and 5 of Art. IX. will then read Sections 5 and 6, respectively.

The above changes are deemed necessary, and I trust will meet with the approval of this convention.

The political programme referred to the unions by the last Convention has doubtless been very thoroughly discussed, and will in all probability receive due consideration at this meeting

As the question is one of deep interest to all members, and the labor movement in general, it is entitled to be handled with great care, and used in the best manner possible in order to make it yield the best returns for those it is intended to relieve.

When conscience dictates danger, the signal ought to be held aloft and made to flow in full view, then all hands can join and help to steer the ship into safety. History shows that partisan politics and trades unions in America do not mix very well at best, and as experience is such a valuable teacher we ought to try and profit thereby. In the first whereas of the political programme our brothers in Great Britain are quoted as having very wisely made "Independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action," and the Parliamentary Committee, consisting of thirteen members including the secretary, all elected by the Trades Union Congress, is instructed to promote and support all labor legislation. This mode of procedure to procure labor legislation on Sanitary Inspection of Workshops and Mines and Sweating System and other labor measures has been in vogue many years in the United States, under the name legislative committees, but owing to the hidebound partisan politicians in labor's ranks, we have not been as successful as our brothers over the sea in securing labor men as members of our State and National legislatures.

Thirteen years ago the miners of Ohio elected a legislative committee to promote and support labor legislation at the State Capital, and continued the same committee for three years in succession. The statute laws of that State to-day on Mine Inspection, the Truck System, Semi-Monthly Payments and Factory Inspection laws can be attributed largely to the work of the committee referred to, and through their efforts the conspiracy bills that were introduced every year the Legislature met were prevented from being enacted into law. The Seamen, the Cigar Makers and the International Typographical Union of late years have all had their legislative committees at Washington with instructions to promote and support labor legislation, and the American Federation of Labor, through committees, has also done valuable work at the capital in the interest of all unions affiliated.

We can afford to enter into Independent Labor Politics as an adjunct to our local trade unions, but we should not attempt to convert by force in order to inject partisan politics inside the walls of our trades union lodge room. The scheme is dangerous; it will prove unwise, and the disruption it will cause in our ranks will retard the progress of the trades union movement for years to come.

To the close student of the trades union movement of America it is very easy to discover the marked contrast in numbers between the United States and those represented at the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. This is to be regretted, but facts are stubborn things and should not be ignored.

Let us deal with these questions as they are, and at the same time commend the trades unionists of Great Britain for the noble work they have done in procuring such a large list of co-workers willing to render the necessary assistance to advance their cause.

Organized labor in America can well afford to bend its energies to build up and strengthen its forces, but it cannot afford to throw anything in the way at this time to weaken our cause. Let us rather concentrate our efforts to increase the standard of trades unions and organize the vast army in every trade that are a standing menace to the movement and its progress.

Educate the masses that are not with us to join their respective trades unions, in order that we may confront the enemy with an ever-increasing unity of action that will enable the wage-workers everywhere, regardless of creed, color or country, to assert their rights and boldly maintain them.

Respectively submitted.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

The report was well received and referred to the proper committee when appointed. Treasurer Lennon then read his report, as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Fourteenth Convention American Federation of Labor:

At the close of another year of the history of the A. F. of L., I have the honor to tender my report, as Treasurer for your consideration.

INCOME.		
Nov.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	\$1,742 32
Dec.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	940 81
1894.		
Jan.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	806 67
Feb.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	869 92
March	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	1,838 32
April	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	1,452 85
May	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	1,017 66
June	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	1,280 13
July	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	957 34
Aug.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	1,374 05
Sept.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	905 37
Oct.	Cash received from Secretary Evans.....	2,160 90
Balance in hand Nov. 1, 1893.....		7,147 44
Total Income		\$22,493 87

1893.

EXPENSES.

Nov.	Paid warrants 1648—1677.....	\$ 790 44
Dec.	Paid warrants 1678—1715.....	1,520 31

A congratulatory telegram from Eugene V. Debs was received and ordered filed.

A letter from the International Association of Machinists was also received and ordered filed. It bespoke the early affiliation of that organization with the A. F. of L., and expressed the best wishes for the success of the convention.

Miss Phoebe Cousins then briefly addressed the Convention. She was intently listened to and cordially greeted.

Delegate Pomeroy moved that the Committee on Credentials be ordered to report the facts in their possession regarding the contested delegations of the Painters.

The chairman of the committee made a verbal report.

Delegate J. H. McCarthy moved that the delegates of the regular session of the Painters and Decorators' International Union, Messrs. Cooper and Murphy, be seated.

A roll call was demanded, which resulted in its adoption by a vote of 1,086 to 919 as follows:

Yeas—Delegates Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, McGuire, Rowland, Linehan, Daughters, Stern, Kelley, McCarthy, Kenchan, Wolfson, Hysell,

Penna, McBride, Nugent, Elderkin, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Samuels, McCallin, McNamara, Hofher, Braunschweiger, Pomeroy, Svinseth, Speagle, Evans, Mullen.

Nays—Weismann, Tobin, McKay, Quayle, Barnes, Prescott, Dernel, Felz, Cooke, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Brettell, Daly, Keefe, Morgan, Stout, Eikoff, Lennon, Cohen, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, McCallum, Lloyd, Beerman, McGill, Greenhalge, Lilly, Morgan, Ratigan, Schamp, O'Sullivan.

A motion was put and carried that when the Convention adjourn it will be until Wednesday, morning at 9 o'clock.

The President announced the following committees:

On President's Address—McCraith, Killgallon, Rowland, Neuroth and Metcalf.

On Secretary's Report—Hysell, McKay, Felz, Wolfson and Dernel.

On Laws—McGuire, Prescott, Fox, Barnes and Penna.

The appointments of President were concurred in.

A communication was read from Carl Browne, and on motion was referred to the Committee on Resolutions, when appointed.

The Convention then adjourned until 9 o'clock Wednesday morning.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

Wednesday, Dec. 12, 1894.

Convention called to order at 9 o'clock sharp, President Gompers in chair.

The chairman announced the appointment of the following committees:

Committee on Resolutions—Daly, Cohen, Sullivan, Linehan and McCarthy.

Committee on Label and Boycotts—Lennon, Weismann, Tobin, Stout and McCallum.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—M. Daughters, Guwang, Hofher, McCallin and Evans.

Committee on Organization—Brettell, Eikhoff, McBryde, Kenchan and Samuels.

Committee on Grievances—Anderson, Mahon, Braunschweiger, Furuseth and Stern.

Delegate Penna moved that the vote by which Messrs. Murphy and Cooper were seated as delegates from the Painters and Decorators' Union be reconsidered. Carried.

Delegate McCallum moved that the matter be referred back to the Committee on Credentials. Carried.

A communication was read from the Cigar-makers' International Union, No. 154, of Lincoln, Ill., relative to compulsory arbitration.

Upon motion it was referred to the Committee on President's Report.

The Committee on Rules reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules, beg leave to submit for your consideration the following rules to govern this convention:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9 a. m., adjourn at 12:30 p. m., to reassemble at 2 p. m., and to continue in session until 5 o'clock p. m.

Rule 2. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking he shall confine himself to the question.

Rule 3. Should two or more members rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless it be to call him to order.

Rule 5. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak, more than once on the same subject or question, until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice with-

out permission from the house, nor any longer than five minutes at one time without permission.

Rule 7. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

Rule 8. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein named.

Rule 9. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

Rule 10. A motion for reconsideration shall not be received unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a majority vote.

Rule 11. Any delegate who may not be present to answer his name at roll call shall be marked absent by the Secretary. But in the event of being unavoidably absent shall have the privilege of reporting to the Secretary.

Rule 12. The previous question can only be put when called for by at least ten delegates.

Rule 13. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

Rule 14. That no resolution be received after Thursday's session without unanimous consent.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
 2. Reading minutes of previous session.
 3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
 4. Report of officers.
 5. Reports of regular committees.
 6. Reports of special committees.
 7. Unfinished business.
 8. New business.
 9. Election and installation of officers.
 10. Good of the Federation.
 11. Adjournment.
- All of which is respectfully submitted.
 LLOYD,
 HOFHER,
 GREENHALGE,
 SVINDSETH.

Moved that the report be taken up *seriatim*.
 Carried.

A motion was made to change the hour of adjournment in the afternoon to 6 o'clock instead of 5 o'clock.

Carried.

Upon motion the following words were added to Rule 4: "Unless the member speaking be willing to submit to a question."

Delegate Barnes offered the following amendment to the report of the Committee on Rules:

No motion or resolution shall be finally passed without opportunity to speak is afforded the person making or introducing the same.

Carried.

A rule by Delegate Sullivan as amended was adopted, as follows:

That before a resolution is received by the Chair and sent to the Committee on Resolutions it shall bear the signature of the delegate introducing it, with the title of his union.

A motion was made to rule 14 that resolutions may be introduced by a two-thirds vote after Wednesday.

Carried.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the report of the committee as amended be concurred in.

Carried.

The report of the Executive Council was read as follows:

To the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The Executive Council, in compliance with the order of the last Convention, submits its report in reference to the applications of organizations to request our fellow workmen to refrain from patronizing the establishments complained of.

In making this report we do so upon those cases which we have been unsuccessful in adjusting. They are as follows:

The Rand-McNally Publishing Company, of Chicago, refused to permit their establishment to be unionized, and it is alleged discriminated against the members of the International Typographical Union. The organization made application to the office of the A. F. of L., that the matter might be investigated. Quite some correspondence took place in reference to the matter without it being satisfactorily adjusted. The attitude of the I. T. U. was endorsed by the Executive Council.

The members of the Flour Packers and Nailers' Protective Union, No. 6348, of Minneapolis, Minn., claimed that the Washburne-Crosby Company was encouraging a system of hiring boys and gradually supplanting union men. They claimed that this was unfair and in violation of an agreement entered into between the union and the company. The union was willing to submit the matter to arbitration, and so, too, was the company, ostensibly, and, although the latter in reply to our communication, asserted their willingness to arbitrate the matter we have the assurances of the Mayor of that city, as well as other responsible business men, that the statements of the company in this regard were not based upon truth.

All efforts having failed to adjust the matter and finding the company in the wrong, the Executive Council endorsed the position of the union.

The Garment Workers have been in constant struggle with the cloak manufacturers, Meyer Jonasson & Co., of New York. The effort to abolish the sweating system and the task system was insisted upon and also the establishment of a rate of wages so that the cloakmakers might know at which rate they were working.

The good offices of the Executive Council were sought, and after repeated efforts failing, the position of the organization was endorsed.

The Hard Wood Furniture and Piano Varnishers' International Union have been in con-

test with the School Seat Co., furniture manufacturers of Grand Rapids, Mich. Our general organizer of that city was deputed to endeavor to effect an adjustment of the difficulty, but without success, the company proving itself entirely arrogant and unwilling to concede anything to its employees or to the union. The position of the union in this case was sustained.

The differences between the United Brewing Workmen's National Union and the employing brewer, Pfaff, of Boston, was referred to Vice-President Marden, who, with our general organizer, had several interviews with Mr. Pfaff. The same influences that were brought to bear in defending the aims of the garment workers were also exercised in the case of the brewers. It was only when our trouble and negotiations with the Journeymen Brewers were firmly organized, through encouragement received by the Knights of Labor, the Pfaff Brewing Co., refused to make their establishment entirely union.

The President of the A. F. of L. wrote several letters to the Western Wheel Works Co., of Chicago, Ill., with the view of amicably adjusting the differences existing between the Metal Polishers', Buffers' and Platers' Union of North America and that company. No response was vouchsafed by the company, and the committee appointed by the last Convention which called upon the company, failed to receive any attention, hence the application of the National Union to advise our fellow unionists of this matter was approved by the Executive Council.

Pursuant to the resolution of the last convention, the President went to St. Louis direct and had an interview with the St. Louis Employing Brewers' Association. The association failed to concede any of the demands of the National Union, nor would they recede from their position, hence the application of the Journeymen Brewers' National Union for an endorsement of their boycott against the Brewers' Association of St. Louis was approved by the Executive Council.

The struggle of the United Garment Workers against the aggressions of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston was placed in the hands of Vice-President Marsden, who had a number of conferences with the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, but in each instance he was thwarted by the underhanded methods of the Knights of Labor of that city. The result has been that the dispute at the time was not satisfactorily adjusted, although the garment workers, who were unfairly organized by the Knights of Labor, joined the union of the trade and secured the demands substantially named in the first instance. The matter of differences which are still open are laid before the Convention for their decision.

In the case of the Tin and Sheet Iron Workers the Executive Council selected our General Organizer of St. Louis to wait upon the firm and endeavor to adjust the differences between that organization and Mesker Bros. The effort was fruitless and the application of the Union was therefore indorsed.

An application was received from the Executive Board of the Cigar Makers' International Union making a request to our fellow unionists not to patronize the product of Yocum

Bros., cigar manufacturers of Reading, Pa., the application, however, not being received until just before the Convention convened, thereby allowing no time for investigation, as provided by our laws, the subject matter is referred to the Convention for such action as it may decide upon.

In submitting this report, we desire to say that we have adjusted many disputes to the satisfaction of both parties in interest.

Those establishments having previously earned the displeasure of organized labor, and with which satisfactory arrangements were subsequently made, have been reported from time to time through the columns of our official magazine, and through circulars to our organizations.

We desire to recommend to the Convention the impracticability of the indorsement of too many applications of this character. There is too much diffusion of effort, which fails to accomplish the best results.

Respectfully submitted,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
P. J. MCGUIRE
JAMES BRETTELL,
J. B. LENNON,
CHRIS EVANS,

Executive Council.

A communication from Mr. George W. Perkins, President of the Cigar Makers International Union, applying for the endorsement of a boycott of the product of Yocum Bros. cigar factory, No. 103, First District of Pennsylvania, was read and referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

The credentials of Mr. Furuseth, of the National Seamen's Union, were accepted and the gentleman was declared entitled to a seat in the Convention.

President Gompers read the report of the Executive Council relative to the programme of speeches in various cities by John Burns and David Holmes.

Delegate Tobin moved that the whole matter be referred back to the Executive Council. Adopted.

Resolutions were then handed in as follows:

No. 1. Report of the Executive Council; referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 2. By Delegate Svindseth on fish traps in Columbia river; referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 3. By Federal Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wis., on officers and referendum, and No. 3½, by Executive Board, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance—communication on permission to affiliate with central labor bodies, referred to Committee on Constitution.

No. 4. By Delegate Stern, to assist in organizing Retail Clerks' National Protective Association; referred to the Committee on Organization.

No. 5. By Delegate Wolfson, relative to the employment of aliens during labor difficulties.

No. 6. By Delegate Eikhoff, on convict contract labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 7. By Delegate Eikhoff, on Boycotting Western Wheel Works of Chicago; referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 8. By Delegate Eikhoff, amendment to By-laws relative to duties of Secretary.

No. 9. By Delegate Eikhoff, amendment to By-laws relative to pay of organizers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 10. By Delegate Daly, resolution relative to the padrone system; referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 11. By Delegates Lennon and Cohen, referring to actions of Retail Clerks' Union of Denver; referred to Committee on Grievances.

No. 12. By Delegate Stout, relative to Iron Moulders' Union; referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 13. Communication from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, relative to the action of Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; referred to Committee on Grievances.

No. 14. By Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, on free state employment agencies.

No. 15. By Delegate Samuels, on the relief of the unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 16. By Delegate Samuels, on abolishing the truck system; referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 17. By Delegate McCraith, relative to non-union publications.

No. 18. By Delegate McCraith, relative to a request to labor papers.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 19. By Delegate Hart, relative to National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes.

No. 20. By Delegate Daughters resolution to aid the Carriage and Wagon Makers' International Union.

No. 21. By Delegate Kenchan, relative to organization; referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 22. By Delegates Guwang and Hesse, relative to brewery boycott.

No. 23. By Delegate Croke, relative to universal label; referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 24. By Delegate Prescott, on mailing copies of proceedings to delegates.

Nos. 25 and 26. By Delegate Prescott relative to changes in the Constitution. Referred to the Committee on Laws.

No. 27. By Delegate Daly, relative to boycott on Glendale Fabric Co.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 28. By Delegate Braunschweiger, relative to appointment of commissioners.

No. 29. By International Typographical Union, delegation, relative to government ownership of telegraph. Referred to Committee on President's Report.

No. 31. By Delegates Daly and Wolfson, relative to boycott.

No. 32. Communication from Beef Boners' Union, No. 6151, relative to boycott on Armour Packing Co. Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 33. Communication from United Tin and Sheet Iron Workers Protective and Benevolent Association of New York, protesting against a charter issued by the Federation; referred to the Committee on Grievances.

Delegate McGuire obtained unanimous consent to introduce a resolution and have it acted upon at once.

RESOLVED, We deplore the introduction of any sectarian or captious side issues among the working people. Such movements are destined to divide labor's forces and produce bitter antagonisms as they produce religious bigotry, provoke rancorous intolerance and divert the working people from working out their own emancipation from the galling slavery of the present social and political conditions.

RESOLVED, That we here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the trades union movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics.

Adopted.

After several motions and amendments it was resolved that the discussion on the "political programme" be made a special order for 10 o'clock Friday morning.

Upon motion a committee was appointed to wait upon Gov. Waite and invite him to address the convention. The President appointed Delegates Morgan, Lennon and Bramwood.

The hour of adjournment having arrived the session was adjourned until 2 p.m.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock by President Gompers.

Reports of committees were called for and all reported progress.

Resolutions were introduced and referred to committees as follows:

No. 34. By Mrs. Morgan, referring to eight hour day for women and children.

No. 35. By Mrs. Morgan, referring to the sweating system.

No. 36. By Mrs. Morgan, referring to the employment of children in workshops.

No. 37. By Delegate Felz, referring to the referendum vote.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 38. By Delegate Felz, referring to the cloak makers' strike in New York.

No. 39. By Delegate Daly, endorsing the stamp of the Lasters' Union.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 40. By Delegate Kelly, referring to organizing the electrical workers.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

No. 41. By Delegate Tobin, regarding political alliance of workmen.

No. 42. By Delegate McCraith regarding the abolishment of land monopoly.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 43. By Delegate Chester, relative to boycott on Mesker Bros. of St. Louis.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 44. By Delegate McCarthy referring to treatment of restaurant and hotel employees.

No. 45. By Delegate Greenhalge, resolution to organize a coremakers' national organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 46. Protest from cigarmakers of Illinois protesting against the seating of Delegate Howard, of Illinois.

No. 47. From local union, No. 18, of National Union of the Brewer Workers of the United States, relative to suspension.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

No. 48. By Delegate Evans, communication from Tobacco Workers of St. Louis.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

No. 49. Communication from Iron Moulders, protesting against a charter being issued to the Trade and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky.

Referred to the Committee on Grievances.

No. 50. By Delegate O'Sullivan, relative to an inquiry by the National Bureau of Labor.

No. 51. By Delegate Furuseth, regarding investigations into the conditions of American seamen.

No. 52. By Delegate Lloyd, referring to the results of the demonetization of silver.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 53. By Delegate Guwang, referring to grievance of Local Union No. 18, Brewery Workers, with their National Union.

Referred to the Committee on Grievances.

The Committee on Credentials made a supplementary report as follows.

Denver, Colo., Dec. 12, 1894

Your committee, having spent all morning in hearing the evidence produced by two factions of the Painters' and Decorators' Union, have decided for the sake of harmony and unity and for the purpose of expediting the business of this Convention, to make a recommendation, which, to the best of your committee's knowledge, is without a precedent, but trusting at the same time the Convention will concur for reasons above named. Your committee does most respectfully recommend that this Convention grant seats to the delegates of both factions during this meeting, and that this whole matter of dispute be referred to the incoming Executive Council, to, if possible, effect a harmonious solution. If such is found to be impracticable that they are to decide which of the two bodies is in future to be the one affiliated with this Federation.

We therefore recommend the seating of Messrs. Joseph B. Allen, F. G. W. Cooper and M. H. Murphy, representing said B. of P. and D. of America with a division of the vote of that organization.

We have also examined the credentials, and recommend the seating of Mr. W. McArthur, of the San Francisco Labor Council, of San Francisco, Cal., and of W. E. Klapetzky, of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

JAMES DUNCAN,
T. J. ELDERKIN,
R. A. MULLEN,
T. F. TRACEY,
R. H. METCALF.

The committee's report was accepted and the recommendations concurred in.

A motion was made and carried that the Convention take a recess until Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock to enable the committees to finish their work.

The Convention then adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

Convention called to order at 9 o'clock sharp, President Gompers in the chair.

A communication was read as follows:

Boston, Mass., December 12, 1894.
Samuel Gompers, Labor Convention, Denver.
Col:

Greeting to Convention. White ribbon women send fraternal delegates earnest sympathy. Honest, hard work is the road to royalty.
Frances E. Willard.

Upon motion it was spread on the minutes.

A protest was read from the Brewers National Organization against the seating of delegates of the Chicago Trade Assembly and State Federation of Illinois.

A communication was read from John A. Murphy, Secretary, of Brocton, Mass., conveying the greetings of the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Council and requesting the delegates to endorse the union label of the shoeworkers.

The communication was referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

A rough draft of a bill to impose a tax on the sweating system and resolutions demanding that future issues of United States bonds be of the denominations of \$1, \$2, \$5, and \$10 each were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A communication was read from the Drummond Tobacco Co., of St. Louis presenting a box of their famous union-made tobacco for the use of the delegates. The same was accepted with thanks.

President Gompers read the following programme for the trip of Mr. John Burns:

Denver, Saturday, December 15; en route to Omaha, Sunday, December 16; Omaha, Monday, December 17; Chicago, Wednesday, December 19; St. Louis, Friday, December 21; Indianapolis, Saturday, December 22; Cincinnati, afternoon, Sunday, December 23; leave at 8:15 p.m., reach Columbus 11:35; sleep over night; take train at 7:45 a.m.; Nelsonville, Monday, December 24; Pittsburg, Thursday, December 27; Washington, Saturday and Sunday, December 29 and 30; Philadelphia, Monday, December 31; Boston, Wednesday, January 2; leaving the United States January 5.

Upon motion the programme was approved.

President Gompers stated that Mr. David Holmes would be allowed time *ad libitum* for a trip through the textile centers of the East.

No objection being offered, the plan was agreed to.

Treasurer Lennon was called to the chair.

The auditing Committee reported as follows:
To the Officers and Delegates of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your committee appointed to audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer of this association for the twelve months ending November 1, 1894, beg leave to report as follows:

We have examined all books carefully and found the same correct.

Following is an account of the receipts and expenditures:

Receipts during the year\$15,346 43
Balance on hand Nov. 1, 1893.... 7,147 44

Total receipts\$22,493 87
Expenses from November 1, 1893, to
October 31, 1894 17,302 08

Balance on hand November 1, 1894.\$ 5,191 79
The above amount is deposited in the German Exchange Bank in New York City, New York.

(Signed.) WILLIAM J. CROKE.
J. W. QUAYLE,
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE.

The report was accepted and adopted unanimously.

The Committee on Resolutions reported in favor of the following:

Resolution No. 5, by Daly and Wolfson.

At the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the L. P. U. of America the following resolution was unanimously adopted; and the delegates from this body to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed to introduce and have the same adopted at said Convention:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegation of the Lesters' Protective Union of America, in annual convention assembled at Boston, Mass., demand of the United States Congress to enact a law making it a criminal offense, punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both, for any employer or employers in time of a strike, lockout or any other labor difficulties between employer and employees, to hire or employ any person or persons who has resided in the United States less than one year, and during said year of his residence in the United States has not declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States. Also to provide for the punishment of any person or persons seeking employment under conditions above referred to and making false claims as to the time of residence in the United States.

Delegate Morgan moved as a substitute that the report be received and referred to the Executive Council that legal advice may be had, and if it was found that it can be framed in such a manner as to meet the requirements, they may be instructed to have a bill prepared and introduced in Congress.

The substitute was adopted—Ayes, 25; nays, 14.

The Credentials Committee reported as follows, which was adopted:

Your Committee on Credentials having considered the protest of the Brewers' National Union, dated December 12, 1894, against the retention of a seat in this Convention of the delegates of the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago, Ill., and the Illinois State Branch American Federation of Labor, find that the latter organization is not represented in this body, and that the brewers have a similar protest on this question now in the hands of the Grievance Committee; we therefore recommend the reference of the brewers communication of December 12, 1894, to that committee.

The Committee on Resolutions reported favorably the following:

Resolution No. 42, by August McCraith.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demands such legislation as will abolish land monopoly, and support no title excepting that of occupancy and use.

Adopted.

The following was also reported favorably:

Resolution No. 2, by Delegate N. J. Svindeth, Fishermen's Union, No. 6321.

WHEREAS, The fish traps of the Columbia River are a menace to navigation and destructive to both life and property; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to urge the Secretary of War to immediately remove fish traps and other obstructions that lie outside the river and harbor line established by the United States Engineer Department in 1892.

Adopted.

A majority of the Committee on Resolutions then reported favorably upon a preamble and resolutions on the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, introduced by Delegate H. Lloyd. The preamble was rejected and the resolutions adopted. They are as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the deliberate judgment of the American Federation of Labor in delegate Convention assembled, that Congress should re-enact the law of 1837, which provided for the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the rate of 16 to 1, thus restoring the American law of coinage as it was until 1873, when silver was demonetized without debate and without the knowledge of the American people, and that this should be done at once, without waiting for the co-operation of any other nation in the world.

RESOLVED Further, That a copy of the above and foregoing, under the seal of the Federation, be sent by the President of the Federation to the President of the United States, and to the Vice-President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Congress, to Secretary Carlisle, to the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the House and to each member of the House and Senate.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was deferred and the reports of the Committees on Officers' Reports taken up.

The Committee on President's Report reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—Your Committee on President's Report beg leave to submit the following:

We find that our President has attended to the many trying matters due to his position in an able and efficient manner, acting at all times with discriminating judgment and absolute impartiality.

In the many recommendations which he has seen fit to offer, your committee has most heartily concurred.

We are of unanimous opinion that the course pursued by him and our Executive Council, in re the strike of the American Railway Union was the right and proper course for them to follow, notwithstanding that their sympathies must have run counter to their judgment, in this unfortunate occurrence, and we also emphatically endorse the condemnation expressed by our President of the action of President Cleveland in the use of force, through the Federal troops on behalf of monopoly and injustice, and against the working people and right, upon that occasion.

In the matter of enforcing our immigration laws, we recommend, in harmony with the suggestions offered, that the President of the American Federation of Labor have power to take summary legal proceedings when complaint is made that said laws are violated, so that testimony can be had from the immigrants before they are deported. We also endorse the suggestion that special agents be appointed by the Immigration Bureau to visit foreign ports and return by steamer, covertly investigating and reporting upon any violation of the law.

The appropriation of \$500 to the defense of Eugene V. Debs is also endorsed, as well as the action on the seamen's bills, and we recommend that the same course be pursued. We understand that the seamen's delegation have presented several bills which were referred to the proper committee.

In the matter of the miners' strike, we recommend that all after the word "compromise," in the thirteenth line, be stricken out as per advice of the President, such having been written under misinformation as to the actual termination of that event.

We would recommend that the Phillips bill, with copies thereof, be referred to a special committee, and that the resolution referred to us calling for five union members of such commission take the same course.

We recommend that the semi-annual conference with the Knights of Labor be continued.

Special action being proposed on the political platform, no recommendation is necessary.

Your committee heartily approves of the suggestion to revive the agitation looking to the establishment of an eight hour day, and would recommend that this Convention select May 1, 1896, for its enforcement, the details thereof to be arranged at the next Convention.

The system of label lectures should be continued, and ways and means devised for its advancement, and we recommend that the Committee on Labels and Boycotts take the matter under consideration, as well as the endorsement of the labels of the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Lasters', and the Brewers' Union.

A resolution having been presented to the Convention favoring free silver, no action is deemed necessary, excepting to endorse the sentiments expressed.

Of the proposal to refund the debt of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railways, we would recommend that the President be instructed to oppose vigorously any such attempt; also that he take the necessary steps to secure legislation regulating the rates of both passenger and freight transportation on all lines.

We learn with regret that George Miller, one of the Jefferson Borden mutineers, has succumbed to the effects of imprisonment while awaiting tardy justice at the hands of our representatives, and we would recommend that the agitation for the release of the survivor, Ephraim Clark, be continued and the application to the President of the United States be renewed.

We urge upon all affiliated bodies the necessity of conferring with our officers before engaging in conflict with employers.

We are pleased to hear that our official magazine is on a good financial basis, and would recommend that the request for increased clerical force be referred to the Executive Council.

In regard to continuing the interchange of visits between representatives of the British Trade Union Congress and this body, we refer the matter to this Convention without recommendation.

We endorse all that our President has said of high dues and increased benefits, and recommend the matter to the favorable consideration of local unions.

Our attention is especially called by our President to the growing demand for compulsory arbitration, emanating from certain quarters, and we cannot but re-echo his emphatic condemnation of this attempt to revive a form of chattel slavery. In this connection we would also call your attention to the recommendations of the commission appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the causes of the recent strike of the American Railway Union. It is evident from the expressions and conclusions of that commission that it has conducted said investigation in a fair and impartial manner, but we believe nevertheless, there is an element of danger involved in their recommendations, which are, in brief, that a permanent commission be appointed by the Government, with power to investigate any industrial situation that may portend a strike, and that pending such investigation all parties be restrained from action; that when a decision is rendered it shall be binding upon all parties for a specified time, sixty days, and such decision not to be combated without thirty days' notice, and also that trade unions be incorporated and made responsible for the action of their several members, individually and collectively.

While we deplore the strained relations that necessarily ensue between employer and employee because of strikes, we cannot admit the right of any person, corporation or legislative body, to compel any individual to remain at work distasteful and unsatisfactory to him against his own free will, even for one moment. In the absence of specific information on this point, therefore, we recommend that this Convention content itself at this time with this plain declaration and that the Executive Council take the matter under immediate consideration and govern themselves accordingly.

Acting under the suggestion of the Cigar Makers' Union, of Lincoln, Neb., we would also recommend that petitions be circulated and presented to Congress emphatically protesting against any form of compulsory arbitration.

Delegate Penna moved that so much of the committee's report as refers to the semi-annual conference with the Knights of Labor be deferred until after the report of the Committee on Conference is heard.

Carried.

The report and recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted.

The Committee on President's Report made an adverse report on Resolution No. 28, which was concurred in.

Delegate Bramwood extended an invitation to the delegates to participate in a ride around the city, which was accepted, and Sunday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock set for that purpose.

The Report of the Committee on Secretary's Report was presented, and upon motion the portion relating to constitutional changes was referred to the Committee on Laws with a favorable recommendation.

Committee on Secretary's Report reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Secretary's Report, having carefully examined the same, and after due consideration, would most respectfully submit the following report and recommendations:

First—The setting aside of 15 per cent. of the monthly receipts in order to create as assistance fund, from which your Executive Council can donate sums for the purpose of organization, has proven very beneficial, and in the report of your Secretary we find a deficiency of \$1,271.38 in said fund, and recommend that the deficiency be replaced from the general fund.

Second—Your Committee is pleased to report that the large number (172) of charters granted during the year of 1894 shows the growth of Trades Unionism has kept pace, if not surpassed, all former records, when we consider that the past year has been one of great industrial depression. It plainly demonstrates the fact that the labor movement is steadily growing and adhering to Trade Union principles.

Third—We recommend the adoption of the

following amendment to Article 4, Section 2: Add to the word "Federation" on line 6 the words: 'Not later than October 31, preceding each annual Convention.'

Fourth—Your committee concurs in the suggestion of the Secretary to strike out the word, "But" on line three and insert the word "And" in Article 4, Section 4.

Fifth—Your committee also recommends to strike out Section 6, of Article 4, as the section conflicts with Section 4 of the same article.

Sixth—We also recommend the adoption of the new section to Article 9, to be known as Section 4, to read as follows:

Section 4. Any union that has withdrawn or been suspended or expelled, and not reinstated as provided for in Section 3 of this article, shall return its charter and seal to the office of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 4 to be Section 5. Section 5 to be Section 6.

Seventh—We heartily concur in the sentiment expressed, that education shall be the watchword of the labor movement, in order that the masses may fully realize the importance of unity of action, regardless of creed, color or country.

The report of the committee was adopted, as amended, unanimously.

The Treasurer's report was referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report.

Resolutions were presented as follows:

No. 54. By Delegate Bramwood, protest against the reorganization and extension of the credit of the Pacific Railroad.

No. 55. By Delegate Brettell, on finances. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 56. By Delegate Felz, indorsing boycott on certain cloak manufacturers of Chicago.

No. 57. By Delegate Felz, indorsing boycott on certain clothing manufacturers of New York.

No. 58. By Delegate Felz, indorsing boycott on certain wholesale clothing manufacturers of Chicago.

No. 59. By Delegate Furuseth, relating to involuntary servitude.

No. 60. By Delegate Strasser, on printing appeal in minutes.

No. 61. By Delegate Lennon, authorizing Executive Council to draft a suitable memorial for presentation to Messrs. Burns and Holmes.

No. 62. By Delegate Hart, indorsing boycott on Tabor Opera House.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 63. By Delegate Higgins relative to the liberation of Messrs. Beattie and Dempsey.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 64. By Delegate Svindseth, relative to labels on fish.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 65. By Delegate Kelley, relative to an eight-hour day.

No. 66. By Delegate Kelley, referring to overtime and Sunday work.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 67. Regarding the affiliation with National Union of Electrical Workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 68. By Delegates Cooper, Murphy and Allen, relative to the Brotherhood of Painters in New York City.

No. 69. By Delegate McCarthy, insisting on union waiters, cooks and barkeepers at banquets, etc.

Referred to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

No. 70. By Delegate Hesse, relative to boycott on certain San Francisco breweries.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 71. By Delegate Lloyd, indorsing legal workday of eight hours.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 72. Applications of Messrs. Witt and Jackson for appointment.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 73. By Delegate Klapetzky, relative to the rights of American citizens to hold public office.

No. 74. By Delegate Sullivan, referring to the appointment of a committee on direct legislation.

No. 75. By Delegate Sullivan, referring to the formation of a non-partisan reform club.

No. 76. By Delegate Sullivan, relative to the establishment of a press committee by local bodies.

No. 77. By Delegate Kenehan, relative to the compulsory weekly payment of wages.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 78. By Delegate Kenehan, indorsing a journeyman's horseshoers' label.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 79. By Delegate McCraith, protesting against the monopoly privilege of issuing money by individuals or corporations.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Committee on Resolutions then reported Resolution No. 1 adversely.

The recommendation was concurred in.

Resolution No. 14, by Delegate McCallin, as follows, was recommended favorably:

RESOLVED, That it is the sentiment of this Convention that free State employment agencies should be established in every State in the Union, modeled after the Ohio, or some better plan.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the consideration of the matter be postponed until Saturday.

Lost.

Delegate O'Sullivan was recorded as voting in the negative.

Resolution No. 15, by Delegate Samuels, as follows, was reported adversely:

WHEREAS, There are a very large number of workmen out of employment, and more are being crowded out of work yearly by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and these men become a public burden unless something be found for them to do; and

WHEREAS, The public roads of this country are generally in a most deplorable condition, and in many instances it is unsafe and almost impossible to travel over them; and that by the improvement of these roads work may be given to the vast army of unemployed, as well as of improving the portal system of this country, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we deem it the duty of Congress to make an appropriation for this purpose, or else devise some means whereby such work may be done.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to draft a suitable measure bearing on this subject to be presented to the next Congress.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 59, by Delegate O'Sullivan, as follows, was reported favorably:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council petition Congress to empower the Bureau of Labor to inquire into the contract system upon public work, and further to inquire into and report upon the matter of mu-

nicipalities conducting public works upon the day labor system in this and other countries. Adopted.

Resolution No. 50, by Delegate Elderkin, was reported with a favorable recommendation.

Upon motion of Delegate Valentine, the subject was referred to a special committee to bring in a suitable recommendation.

The president appointed the committee as follows: Delegates Nugent, Mahon and Mrs. T. J. Morgan.

The Committee on Resolutions reported with favorable recommendation resolution No. 36, by Mrs. T. J. Morgan, as follows:

WHEREAS, The employment of children in workshops and factories is detrimental to their moral, intellectual and physical development; therefore

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that the compulsory education law should be strictly enforced in every state in the union, and wherever there is no such law measures to secure its enactment should be put forth at once.

Concurred in.

Delegate Samuels asked and was given permission to withdraw Resolution No. 16.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock sharp by President Gompers.

Upon motion the absentees were excused on account of recess, having been taken up in witnessing exhibition of fire department.

The Committee on Grievances made the following report on Resolution No. 19, by Lee M. Hart, recommending the adoption of the substitute:

Your committee having under advisement the grievance of the National Alliance of Stage Employees and the New York Theatrical Protective Union No. 1, respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The New York Theatrical Protective Union No. 1 having seceded from the National Alliance of Stage Employees, and having declared that no member of said National Alliance shall be permitted to work in New York as a union man, and having declared their intention of striking in any theatre where such member or members of said National Alliance are or may be employed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor will aid and support, by all proper means, any and all members of said National Alliance finding employment in the

theatres of the city of New York; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizer of the American Federation of Labor for New York City be and is hereby instructed to lend his assistance to the National Alliance in organizing a local of that craft in the city of New York.

The substitute of the committee was adopted.

The committee also reported Resolution No. 47, submitted by Delegate of Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, in the matter of the Brewers' Local Union No. 18, and offered the following substitute:

Your Grievance Committee in grievance No. 47, between Brewers' Union No. 18 and the Chicago Trades Assembly against the National Association of Brewers, beg to report that the law levying the tax for a reserve fund was legally enacted by the National Association in legally assembled convention, and that the provision which requires the said tax to be placed in the hands and control of the National Association is not only mandatory but proper, and should not be interfered with by this Convention. We further find that the assessments of 10 cents per week on each member to support the locked out members of St. Louis is also proper, but we recommend to these organizations that Local No. 18 of Chicago pay its reserve and assessment funds to its National

Association; and we recommend to the National Association that they accept in installments this assessment fund in order that they may not financially embarrass Local No. 18 of Chicago. We desire to express our opinion that Local No. 18 has demonstrated the true spirit of unionism in the manly way by which they have gone to the assistance of other oppressed organizations; but we further recommend that unless Local No. 18 of Chicago does comply with these recommendations that Article 4 Sections 3 and 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be enforced.

The subject matter was, after a thorough discussion, referred to the incoming Executive Council for the purpose of making an amicable adjustment between the National Brewers' Union and Local No. 18. Crooke, O'Sullivan, Klapetzky, Kilgallon, Weismann, Kenahan, McCarthy, Eikhoff, Hopher, Stern, Anderson and Kelly voted in the negative.

President pro tem, Mr. P. J. McGuire, announced the appointment of the following special committee on Phillips bill: Delegates Bramwood, Pomeroy, Greenhalgh, Ratigan and Beerman.

The President pro tem announced that the regular order of business would be suspended to listen to an address by Hon. I. N. Stevens.

Hon. I. N. Stevens delivered an eloquent address and a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Stevens for his interesting and instructive address.

The report of Committee on Grievances resumed.

The following report on protest No. 29 was tendered:

Resolution No. 49, submitted by delegates of the I. M. U.

To the American Federation of Labor:

There is a regular federation of organized labor in Louisville, Ky., known as the Fraternal and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., and vicinity, and of which body Iron Moulders' Union No. 18, is and has been for years a duly accredited member. The aforesaid Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Ky., have for good and sufficient reasons seen proper to discipline some of the representatives to said body. These representatives mentioned, have, with a few, very few, followers, seen fit to form themselves into a body and call it a Central Labor Union. They have secured a charter from the American Federation of Labor, of which organization your humble servants are part and parcel, through the Iron Moulders' Union of North America. Therefore, Iron Moulders' Union No. 18 do, and by regular course through the executive office of Iron Moulders' Union of North America protest against the so-called Central Labor Union, of Louisville, Ky., being in any form or manner permitted representation or association with the American Federation of Labor, and we hereby give as reasons for the protest:

First—Iron Moulders' Union No. 18, together with other subordinate labor associations who indirectly are members of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor, do form and make the Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville, Kentucky.

Second—We do declare and protest that this so-called Central Labor Union, of Louisville, Ky., is in no manner in harmony, in sympathy or interest with the Trades and Labor Assembly, of Louisville, Ky.

Third—The so-called Central Labor Union is now and been since its inception at variance with the Trades and Labor Assembly, of Louisville, Ky., and in consequence against the interests of the I. M. U. No. 18, and therefore jeopardize the interest or the American Federation of Labor.

By, Delegates of Iron Moulders' Union of North America.

Denver Col., Dec. 13, 1894.

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Grievances, having under advisement the protest of the Iron Moulders' Union against the issuance of a charter to the Central Labor Union, of Louisville, report as follows:

That while we deprecate a division in labor ranks, yet we believe that a revocation of the charter of the Central Labor Union, of Louisville, would not mend matters, but would only result in the formation of two independent central bodies. And as there is no evidence to prove that the organizations comprising the Central Labor Union have been guilty of anything but secession from a non-chartered body, we therefore find no just reason for requesting the revocation of said charter of the C. L. U., of Louisville, Ky.

WILLIAM ANDERSON,
JOHN BRAUNSCHWEIGER,
W. D. MAHON.

I do not concur in the above report.

L. M. STERN.

A motion was offered and adopted that the whole matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council for adjustment.

Resolutions were introduced as follows:

No. 80. By Delegate O'Sullivan, on restriction of emigration.

No. 81. By Delegate O'Sullivan, instructions to Executive Council.

No. 82. Delegates Allen, Cooper, McCallin Greenhalgh and Murphy, relative to Federation headquarters.

No. 83. By Delegate Stout, relative to the issuance of United States bonds.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 84. By Delegate Stern, relative to the retail clerks.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 85. By Delegate Spaegel, protest against the granting of a charter to certain musical organizations.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 86. By Delegate Tracey, instructions to Executive Council.

No. 87. Relative to the granting of charters. Referred to the Committee on Laws.

No. 88. By Delegate Kelley, relative to organizing the electrical workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 89. By Delegate McArthur, relative to the Strike Commissioners' report.

No. 90. By Delegate McCallum, relative to the Pullman strike.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 91. By Delegate O'Sullivan, relative to organizing quarymen.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 92. Relative to the boycott of the United States Baking Company, of Pittsburg.

No. 93. Relative to boycott on the American Biscuit Company.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 94. By Delegate Tobin, relative to relief for wives and families of prisoners.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 95. By Delegate Kenchan, on reduced railroad rates.

Referred to Executive Council.

No. 96. By Delegate McNamara, regarding de-late.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 97. By Delegate McNamara, on organization of reed and rattan workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 98. By Delegate Kenchan, relative to the Phillips bill.

Referred to special committee.

No. 99. By Delegate Daly, on immigration.

No. 100. By Delegate Daly, relative to next place of meeting.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

No. 101. By Delegate Higgins, on granting of charters.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 102. By Delegate Klapetzky, on organization of barbers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 103. By Delegate Klapetzky, on instructions to Executive Council.

No. 104. Compelling local affiliated unions to join local central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 105. Relative to Central Labor Union of New York.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

No. 106. Application for charter at Kansas City.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 107. On musicians' trouble at Baltimore.

Referred to Executive Council.

No. 108. Boycott by Cooper Assembly No. 1777, K. of L.

Referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 109. By Delegate Metcalf, relative to enforcing laws.

Referred to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

President Gompers presented an application for a charter by a new central organization at Kansas City.

Upon motion it was referred to the Committee on Organization.

President Gompers also laid the matter of the local Musicians' Union of Baltimore before the convention.

Upon motion of Delegate Duncan it was decided to refer the matter to the Executive Council without recommendations.

The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies reported as follows:

Resolution No. 69, by Delegate McCarthy.

WHEREAS, The organization of H. R. E. has been materially delayed by organized labor not making any distinction between union and non-union men; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the National Organizations, when holding conventions, be requested to inquire of the National Secretary of the H. R. E. N. A. the names of union hotels and restaurants of the city where the convention is held; and

RESOLVED, That National organizations request their locals to insist on union waiters, cooks and bartenders at all banquets, picnics and excursions they may give.

Committee report favorably.

Recommendations of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 44, by J. H. McCarthy.

WHEREAS, There is evidently a conspiracy on the part of the employers and their managers in discriminating against members of the Hotel Employees' Alliance and that they have a black list upon which the names of active members of that organization, or agitators, as they call them, are put and sent abroad throughout the country, thus preventing these men from securing employment; therefore

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board take this matter in hand and endeavor to do all in their power to assist the Hotel Employees' Alliance.

Committee report favorably.

Recommendations of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 45, by Delegate Greenhalgh.

WHEREAS, The core makers of the country have no national or international organization; and

WHEREAS, There are nine local unions connected with the American Federation of Labor and several very large unions that are not connected; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That an effort be made to combine said locals under one national head; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if the above is not effective that all local unions that are not so connected now be induced to obtain a charter of affiliation from the American Federation of Labor.

Committee report favorably.

Recommendation adopted and referred to incoming Executive Council.

Committee offered the following:

Substitute for No. 48. By Delegate Evans, communication from Tobacco Workers of St. Louis, Mo.

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board instruct the organizers throughout the United States to endeavor to organize the Tobacco Workers of America.

We recommend as a substitute for Resolutions No. 4, 12, 40, 21, 20, the following:

Resolutions from the Retail Clerks, Carriage and Wagon Workers, Horseshoers, Electrical Workers and Tobacco Workers demonstrate the necessity of the appointment of a number of local organizers to help build up many of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We therefore recommend that the incoming Executive Board appoint such local organizers as are required, and adopt ways and means for their remuneration. This also applies to the Pattern Makers' National League of North America, with this difference: That local organizers for that body be appointed from the Iron Moulders Union of America as per request of the former organization.

JAMES BRETTELL,
P. MCBRIDE,
RODY KENEHAN,
HENRY J. EIKHOFF,
H. C. SAMUELS,

Secretary.

The recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

Report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

The recommendation regarding the boycott on the Western Wheel Works, of Chicago, was concurred in.

Regarding the recommendation of the committee that a boycott be declared on the Boston *Pilot*, *Republic* and *Arena*. Delegate Morgan moved that the Executive Council notify the *Arena* Publishing Company that a boycott would be declared against their publications unless their office was unionized. Carried.

The recommendation regarding the request

to the labor press to keep a standing list of unfair firms was concurred in.

Resolution No. 27, by Delegate Daly, relative to boycott on Glendale Fabric Company, was recommended favorably, and recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 23, by Delegate Croke, on universal label, was reported adversely, and concurred in.

Resolutions were introduced as follows:

No. 110. By Delegate Higgins, relative to commissions of organizers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 111. By Delegate McCallum, relative to plasterers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 112. By Delegate Croke, regarding method of voting.

No. 113. By Delegate McNamara, amendment to constitution.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 114. By Delegate McNamara, asking for loan for defense of coal miners.

Referred to Committee on Secretary's Report.

No. 115. By Delegate Greenhalgh, relative to changing the constitution.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 116. By Delegate Kelley, regarding action of New York unions.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9:00 o'clock sharp; President Gompers in the chair.

Roll of delegates called and absentees noted. Upon motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Telegrams containing greetings from Retail Clerks' National Union.

Also, from Local Union No. 5759, containing expressions of greeting, and a congratulatory letter from Pattern Makers' Association of Philadelphia and vicinity.

Received and filed.

The Committee on Secretary's Report reported on resolution No. 114, asking that the matter be transferred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The transfer was agreed to.

President Gompers stated that John Burns had informed him that it would be impossible for him to fulfill the engagements made for him at Cincinnati on December 23 and Detroit on December 25.

The Auditing Committee made a supplementary report as follows:

Denver, Col., December 13, 1894.

To the American Federation of Labor:

Brothers—Your committee, to whom was referred the printed report of the Treasurer, report that we have again examined the report and have found it correct in every particular. Your committee, in making this supplementary report, wish to state that we have found the books of Secretary Evans and Treasurer Lennon kept in a neat, clear and comprehensive manner.

WILLIAM J. CROKE,
J. W. QUAYLE,
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE.

The report was received and adopted.

Report of the Committee on Labels and Boycotts resumed.

RESOLUTIONS.

No. 31. By Delegates Daly and Wolfson, relative to boycott.

No. 32. Communication from Beef Boners' Union No. 6151, relative to boycott on Armour Packing Company.

No. 38. By Delegate Felz, referring to the cloakmakers' strike in New York.

No. 43. By Delegate Chester relative to boycott on Mesker Bros., of St. Louis.

Committee reported favorably and report of committee was concurred in.

Delegate McBride called to the chair.

The report of the committee on the request for the endorsement of the Lasters' Union label was received.

Delegate Tobin presented a minority report.

A motion was made that the minority report be adopted.

President Gompers moved that the matter of the Lasters' Union Label, as well as the report of the matter relative to the difficulties in the Brewers' organizations, be discussed after the reading of the report of the Committee on Conference.

There being no objection, the motion was agreed to.

No. 13, communication from the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners relative to the action of Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, referred to Committee on Grievances, was returned by the committee and reported that it be not concurred in.

Report of committee adopted.

Communication No. 72, by Delegate Metcalf, on application by Messrs. Witt and Jackson for appointment as lecturers.

Committee reported favorably and the recommendation was concurred in, but referred to the incoming Executive Committee.

The following communication from Governor Waite was received and read:

State Capitol, Denver, Dec. 14, 1894.

Gentlemen of the Convention: Official business has compelled me to decline the invitation to make you a personal address, but at the request of your committee I send you a brief letter in relation to the remedy which, in my judgment should be adopted by all labor organizations to accomplish their purposes. I say nothing in relation to organization which all admit to be indispensable, or the ordinary mode of operations which, especially in Great Britain, have been so successful in keeping up wages, preventing child labor and ameliorating the conditions of the workmen. The labor unions of the United States undoubtedly can learn much practical good from the experience of their brethren in Europe. I was pleased to see in the remarks of

Brother Burns at the Wednesday meeting the exhortations to members of trade unions to "get together." It seems that in England, although in that country political means are more difficult than here, workmen or representatives of labor are elected to office, and exert great influence in the British Parliament. In the United States, political means and remedies are much more easily accessible, and legislation under greater control than in the old country, and yet the legislation of the United States in favor of labor cannot be compared with the legislation in the more advanced of other nations. The great object of government is the protection of the citizen in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, yet the legislative councils of every state and of Congress are monopolized for the protection of invested capital, the guaranteeing of profits and the creation of fictitious corporations which may dominate the individual. Instead of guarding the rights of the individual citizen, legislation has been monopolized to grant special powers to combinations. For the past thirty years the wealth of the nation has been a more important factor in the body politic than the rights of the people. As the result of the trend of such legislation, the prosperity of the nation has been destroyed, and wealth is concentrated in the hands of the few. To benefit this few who are consumers, prices are forced below the cost of production, wages are kept to the lowest possible rate, and whole nations are fast being reduced to pauperism.

Said Lafargue, a member of the French Assembly, in a recent speech:

"When capitalism visits a country it is as if a hurricane had broken loose that tears down and destroys everything that stands in its way—men, animals, the quick and the dead.

"When European capital let itself down in Egypt it seized the fellahs with their beasts of burden, their wagons and their flocks, as so many blades of grass, and carried them off to the Isthmus of Suez; with its iron hand bent them under the yoke of servitude, and there, scorched by the sun, worried with hunger and thirst, attacked by fever, the bones of thirty thousand of those victims whitened the canal. Capital seizes upon free and healthy strong and happy people, and immures them by the hundreds of thousands in the mills, the factories and the mines; when it lets them go again they are prematurely old, scrofulous, anaemic, consumptive."

God knows, the condition of the laboring man needs amelioration, pity, charity; but the laboring men need justice more. If we are to remove evil, common sense demands that we should strike at the cause; it is useless to busy ourselves with alleviating fever and plague, and leave the foul source of disease undisturbed.

The capitalism which controls our legislation, which dominates our national conventions, and dictates political platforms and policies, within the past few years has almost defiantly overridden the constitutional provisions, national and state, protecting civil rights. Four years ago Benjamin Harrison, Republican President of the United States, used the military power of the United States in Wyoming to protect a band of land monopolists, who murdered two settlers upon the public lands, and the blood of those murdered men today cries from the ground in vain. The same capitalism, acting through Grover Cleveland, Democratic President, used the military power of the United States in compelling labor to perform work on railroad lines, sending the military power into Illinois, without any request of the legislature thereof

or of the Governor of the State, and contrary to the Constitution of the United States. Within the last four years United States Courts, overriding the Constitution of the United States, have arrested without warrant, tried without a jury and convicted without evidence, sending workmen to prison for contempt, of a so-called receiver of a railroad who is really not so much an officer of the United States as the post-master at the country cross-roads.

A recommendation is now before Congress from the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, General Schofield, recommending an increase of the army, its withdrawal from frontier posts and its concentration near the large cities for the purpose of overawing laboring men, putting down strikes and compelling laboring men to work on the railroad lines of capitalism.

How else can organized labor resist the inroads upon personal rights, which attacks come by political means, not only through unfriendly legislation, but through the plain usurpations of executive power?

I am aware that the present policy of the Trades Union is non-partisan, and I recognize fully your right to adopt such policy as you may approve. I would treat your action with due respect, but conceding the fact that capitalism controls our legislative bodies, that the United States Senate is simply a hospital for millionaires, that our rights are swept away, not only by Congress and Legislatures, but by the usurpation of the judiciary, there is but one remedy, and that is the workmen must "get together" politically, and support that party which in good faith declares for the rights of humanity as against the rights of property.

Yours respectfully,
DAVIS H. WAITE.

Upon motion of Delegate Morgan the letter was ordered spread upon the minutes.

The hour for the special order for the consideration of the political programme having arrived, the President declared that the pending business.

POLITICAL PROGRAMME.

WHEREAS, The Trade Unionists of Great Britain, have by the light of experience and the logic of progress, adopted the principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

WHEREAS, Such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

WHEREAS, Such independent labor politics are based upon the following programme, to-wit:

1. Compulsory education.
2. Direct legislation.
3. A legal eight-hour work day.
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home.
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body or life.
6. The abolition of contract system in all public work.
7. The abolition of the sweating system.
8. The municipal ownership of street cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution and light, heat and power.
9. The nationalization of telegraph, telephones, railroads and mines.

10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.

11. The principle of referendum in all legislation. Therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Convention hereby indorse this political action of our British comrades; and

RESOLVED, That this programme and basis of a political labor movement be and is hereby submitted for the consideration of the labor organizations of America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.

Delegate Elderkin moved that a vote be taken on the adoption of the political platform as a whole.

Delegate Pomeroy moved to amend that the political platform be taken up *seriatim*.

The previous question was called for and carried.

The question recurred on the amendment of Delegate Pomeroy and was adopted.

The preamble to the political programme was then read.

Delegate Strasser moved that the preamble be stricken out.

Delegate Barnes raised a point of order that the matter could not be considered, having been adopted at the last Convention.

The President ruled the point of order not well taken, since the Convention had the power to adopt or reject the matter at will.

After a lengthy discussion the previous question was demanded by Delegate Nugent. The vote stood 29 to 27.

Delegate Strasser asked for the calling of the roll on the striking out of the preamble, which resulted as follows:

Yeas—Klapetzky, Weisman, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Quayle, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Stern, Kelley, Croke, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Hysell, Cooper, Eikhoff, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, McNamara, Lloyd, McGill, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Ratigan, Pomeroy and O'Sullivan—1345.

Nays—Tobin, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, Daughters, Barnes, Felz, McCarthy, Kenchan, Brettell, Daly, Wolfson, Keefe, T. J. Morgan, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Mahon, Elderkin, Duncan, Samuels, McCallin, McCallum, Hofher, Braunschweiger, Beerman, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Svindseth, Evans and Mullen—861.

The preambles were stricken out.

Plank No. 1. Compulsory education.

Adopted.

Delegate Sullivan moved as a substitute for planks 2 and 11 the following:

"That planks 2 and 11 be consolidated so as

to read: 'Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.'"

The motion was agreed to. Ayes, 42; nays, 17.

Delegate Kenchan desired to be recorded as voting in the negative.

Delegate Strasser offered the following as an addition to the political programme:

"Repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting sea men and other workmen incor-

porated in the federal and state laws on the United States."

Mr. Stern moved that Mr. Strasser's proposition be numbered plank No. 2, and that the plank on direct legislation be numbered 11.

Pending discussion, the hour of adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock, sharp.

Roll of delegates called and absentees noted:

Delegate Brettel moved that a committee of three be appointed to draft suitable resolutions expressing the sentiment of this Convention regarding the issuing of injunctions in labor troubles and covering the cases of Mr. Debs and others.

Carried.

Telegram read from Brewery Workers' Union on trade autonomy.

Read and filed.

Telegram read from the Bath, Maine, Board of Trade, regarding the admission of foreign built vessels to registry under the American flag.

Upon motion, it was referred to the special committee having in charge the seamen's rights resolutions.

By consent Delegate Strasser withdrew his proposition.

No. 3. A legal eight-hour work day.

Delegate Weismann moved an amendment that the following words be added: "For all government employes, federal, state and municipal."

Delegate Lloyd moved an amendment to the amendment that plank 3 read: "A legal work day of not more than eight hours."

After further discussion the previous question was ordered and agreed to.

The question recurring on the amendment of Delegate Lloyd, was carried by a vote of 42 to 21.

Delegates Weismann, Neuroth, Hart, Dernel, Cohen and Greenhalgh voted in the negative.

Plank No. 4, sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home.

Mrs. T. J. Morgan moved its adoption.

Delegate Pomeroy moved to amend by striking out the words "and home."

Delegate McGuire moved as an amendment that the words "tenement house" be substituted for the word "home."

Delegate Mullen moved as a substitute that the proposition read: "Sanitary inspection of workshops, factories, mines and all buildings where labor is employed."

After considerable discussion the previous question was called for and carried.

The substitute and amendments were put in due order and lost. The original proposition was adopted.

Propositions Nos. 5, liability of employers for injury to health, body or life; 6, the abolition of contract system in all public work; and 7, the abolition of the sweating system, were read and adopted without debate.

Proposition No. 8, the municipal ownership of street cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat and power, was amended by the insertion of the words "water works" after the words "street cars" and adopted as amended.

Delegate Dernel was recorded as voting in the negative.

Proposition No. 9, the nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads and mines, was adopted.

Delegates Weismann, Cohen, Greenhalgh, J. W. Sullivan, Pomeroy and O'Sullivan were recorded as voting in the negative.

Proposition No. 10, the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.

Delegate McCarthy moved its adoption.

Delegate Strasser moved to amend the proposition so as to read: "The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution by confiscation without compensation."

Delegate Pomeroy moved as a substitute for the whole the following: "The abolition of land monopoly."

Delegate McCraith offered, on behalf of the International Typographical Union, the following:

"The abolition of the monopoly system of land holding and the substitution therefor a title of occupancy and use only."

Delegate Pomeroy withdrew his substitute in favor of the one introduced by Delegate McCraith.

A point of order was made that the substitute of Delegate McCraith was out of order, the subject matter having been covered by previous action of the Convention.

The Chair decided the point not well taken.

Delegate Barnes appealed from the decision of the Chair.

President Gompers stated that the proposition before the house on which the appeal was made was based on the following: Whether a question of principle, which had already been declared upon by the Convention, could be substituted for one which had *not* been declared upon.

The question before the house was: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the decision of the Convention?"

The decision of the Chair was sustained. yeas, 37; nays, 15.

Delegate Eikhoff offered the following substitute for proposition No. 10: "The Government shall establish savings departments in connection with the post office."

Delegate Lennon offered a substitute as follows: "As rapidly as the people shall declare in favor thereof by means of the initiative and referendum system of legislation."

Special committee on injunction cases was then appointed as follows: N. R. Hysell, Thomas J. Morgan and Thomas F. Tracey.

The time for adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned until Saturday morning at 9 o'clock.

FIFTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock sharp; President Gompers in the chair.

The roll of delegates called and absentees excused.

Upon motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Delegate Lloyd moved that plank 10 be referred back to affiliated organizations to be voted upon during the coming year. The question was discussed at great length, and a large number of the delegates participated.

Delegate Morgan asked the floor on a question of personal privilege. Before his remarks were concluded the privilege of the floor was withdrawn by the President.

The Chair decided that Delegate Morgan had asked the privilege of the floor on the statement that his honor had been impugned, and, on being given the right to state his grounds, had made an attack upon another delegate, and the Chair ruled that the delegate had abused the right of personal privilege.

Delegate Morgan appealed from the decision of the Chair.

The question recurred on the appeal, and the decision of the Chair was sustained by a vote of 33 yeas to 16 nays.

Delegate McBryde asked the following question: "The national organizations attached to the American Federation of Labor, having complete autonomy, can the American Federation of Labor, by majority vote or otherwise, impose upon those bodies any political platform in direct opposition to the wishes of the members of those organizations?"

President Gompers replied as follows: "The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary organization. The resolutions or platform adopted by it at its conventions are expressive of the sentiments and demands of the majority of the organized workers affiliated with it. The resolutions and platforms adopted can not be imposed upon any affiliated organization against its wishes but the resolutions and platforms adopted are presumed to be observed by all organizations."

The rule was suspended, and the time of adjournment was extended fifteen minutes to allow Delegate Lloyd to finish his remarks.

Delegate Prescott extended an invitation to the delegates to visit the Printers Home at Colorado Springs.

The hour for adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock.

FIFTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2 p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Roll of delegates called and absentees noted.

Telegrams from Eugene V. Debs on his sentence of six months imprisonment and from Joseph R. Buchanan relative to imprisonment of Mr. Debs were referred to special committee on drafting resolutions relative to injunction cases.

Delegate Penna was called to the chair.

Communication was read from Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance relative to a grievance against President Gompers.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the regular order of business be suspended for the purpose of considering the matter at once.

Carried.

Several letters were read by the Secretary complaining against President Gompers for not hiring members of Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance at the dinner tendered to David Holmes and John Burns, English delegates, at Clarendon Hall, New York City, on December 4.

Delegate Gompers made an explanation stating that the hall—Clarendon Hall—was the home of organized labor of New York and was the only Union hall obtainable for the occasion.

Delegate McBryde offered the following motion:

That after hearing a statement of the case there is no foundation for any charge against President Gompers, this entire matter being too frivolous to be entertained by this Convention. The case is therefore dismissed.

Adopted.

Delegate Barnes requested that he be recorded as having voted in the negative.

An invitation was read from the Smith-Brooks Printing Company to visit their establishment and formally accepted.

The consideration of the question pending at the time of adjournment was again taken up, Delegate Tobin having the floor.

The previous question was called and agreed to by a vote of yeas, 35; nays 21.

The Secretary read the original proposition and the amendments and substitutes offered thereto.

The question recurred on the proposition of Delegate Lloyd to refer and was lost.

The question then recurred on the proposition of Delegate Lennon and was lost.

Delegate Eikhoff's substitute was put and lost.

Delegate McCraith's substitute was then read and a roll call was ordered, with the following result:

Yeas—Klapetzky, Weisman, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Quayle, Daughters, Stern, Kelley, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Bretell, Daly, Keefe, Hysell, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Stout, Eikhoff, Lennon, Cohen, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Tracey, McCallin, Lloyd, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Pomeroy and Svindseth—1217.

Nays—Tobin, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, Barnes, Neuroth, Dornell, Felz, Croke, McCarthy, Kenehan, Kilgallon, Wolfson, Morgan, Penna, McBryde, Mahon, Elderkin, Furels, McCallum, Hoffer, Braunschweiger, Beerman, McGill, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Evans, Mullen and O'Sullivan—913.

The President declared the substitute carried.

By Delegate Strasser:

The repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting seamen and other workmen incorporated in the Federal and State laws of the United States.

Upon motion it was adopted.

By Delegate Morgan:

The private, individual and corporate ownership and control of all means of production and distribution.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the resolution lay on the table.

Carried.

By Delegate McCraith:

The abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money, and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people.

Moved that it be referred to a referendum vote.

Motion lost and the resolution offered by Delegate McCraith was adopted.

By delegates of I. T. U.:

The national and State destruction of the liquor traffic.
Tabled.

The question then recurred on the question of the adoption of the resolutions on the programme.

Delegate Pomeroy moved as a substitute:

That this convention hereby indorses the above platform as a whole.

The roll was called for and resulted as follows:

Yeas—Klapetzky, Anderson, Daughters, Kelley, McCarthy, Kenehan, Brettell, Hysell, Penna, Stout, Eikhoff, Lennon, Cohen, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Samuels, McCallum, McCallin, McNamara, Lloyd MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Svindseth, Spaegel, Evans and Mullen—735.

Nays—Weismann, Tobin Guwang, Hesse, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Quayle, Neuroth, Dernel, Croke, Valentne, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Daly, Wolfson, Keefe, Morgan, McBride, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Mahon, Chester, Hart, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, McGill, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Pomeroy, and O'Sullivan—1173.

Substitute lost.

The motion to adopt the resolutions (part of the political programme) was lost.

Delegate McCraith offered the following to be submitted to the referendum:

"Are you in favor of independent political action of the trades unions, by the formation of a political party? Yes. No.

On motion of Delegate Penna, it was tabled.

The Committee on Resolutions reported on change of Headquarters.

"RESOLVED, That the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor be removed to _____."

Committee refers to the Convention without recommendation.

Delegate Barnes moved the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Strasser moved the following:

That the successful candidate for president have the privilege to select the headquarters with the approval of the incoming Executive Council.

By Delegate Daly.

That the delegates present, who so desire, shall place in nomination the city to which they wish to see the headquarters removed, and that a list of the places designated be submitted to a vote of the affiliated bodies of the Federation and that the city or town receiving the highest number of votes be the place in which the headquarters shall be located for a term of five years from the date of the holding of the next Convention of the

Federation, the vote of the affiliated bodies on the question to be taken on the basis of the representation of the affiliated bodies in the Convention of the Federation.

The previous question being called, the question then recurred on the proposition offered by Delegate Daly, resulting as follows:

Yeas—McGuire, McKay, Quayle, Croke, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Daly, Wolfson, Cohen, Sullivan, Samuels, McCallum, Greenhalgh, Mullen—475.

Nays—Klapetzky, Weismann, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, Rowland, Linehan, Daughters, Barnes, Neuroth, Dernel, Stern, Kelley, Felz, McCarthy, Kenehan, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Eikhoff, Mahon, Elderkin, Furuseth, Lennon, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Tracey, Duncan, McCallin, McNamara, Hofher, Lloyd, Braunschweiger, MacArthur, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Svindseth, Spaegel, Evans and O'Sullivan—1642.

Lost.

The proposition of Delegate Strasser was then put and lost.

The resolution to remove the headquarters was then voted on by roll call and resulted as follows:

Yeas—Tobin Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, McKay, Rowland, Daughters, Barnes, Neuroth, Dernel, Stern, Kelley, McCarthy, Kenehan, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Mahon, Elderkin, Chester, Hart, Higgins, Bramwood, Samuels, McCallin, McNamara, Hofher Braunschweiger, Beerman, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Pomeroy, Svindseth, Spaegel and Evans—1,274.

Nays—Klapetzky, Weisman, McGuire, McKay, Quayle, Felz, Croke, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Daly, Wolfson, Eikhoff, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, McCraith, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, Lloyd, McGill MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Mullen and O'Sullivan—782.

Motion carried.

On motion of Delegate Lennon it was decided that the hour of adjournment be fixed at 6:30.

Delegate Pomeroy placed in nomination for the headquarters of the Federation the name of Indianapolis.

Delegate Eikhoff nominated Detroit.

Delegate O'Sullivan nominated Washington.

Seconded by Delegate Duncan.

Delegate Weismann nominated Brooklyn.

Delegate Higgins nominated Louisville.

Further consideration of the matter was temporarily postponed.

The rules were suspended and Mr. John Burns given the privilege of the floor.

Mr. Burns, in a few well chosen words, expressed the thanks of his colleague and him-

self for the courteous treatment and generous reception they had received at the hands of the Federation, and workmen in general, and his remarks were very kindly and enthusiastically received by all delegates present.

Mrs. Eva C. Higgins presented credentials from the National W. C. T. U., which were accepted. The credentials also bore the names of Mrs. S. E. V. Emery, Mrs. Marion, H. Dunham and Mrs. Walker, and extended an invitation to the Federation to select fraternal delegates to attend the next convention of the National W. C. T. U., at Baltimore, in 1895.

Invitations were read as follows:

To attend a reception by the ladies at the St. James Hotel at 8 o'clock.

To attend a meeting of the Bakers' Union at the Charles block at 8 o'clock.

To attend an excursion to Colorado Springs on the following day.

To participate in a car ride on the following afternoon.

To attend a meeting of the Socialists at Assembly Hall on the following afternoon.

After which the President declared the Convention adjourned until 9 o'clock Monday morning.

SIXTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock sharp, President Gompers in the chair.

Roll of delegates called and absentees noted.

Upon motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The pending business before the Convention being the selection of a place for headquarters, enough members demanding it, the roll of delegates was called, with the following result:

Delegate Higgins withdrew the name of Louisville.

For Indianapolis—Weismann, Tobin, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, Rowland, Linchan, Daughters, Barnes, Stern, Kelley, Felz, McCarthy, Kenchan, Wolfson, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Mahon, Chester, Higgins, Bramwood, Samuels, McCallin, McNamara, Hofher, Braunschweiger, McGill, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Ratigan, Svindseth, Spaegel and Evans—1,290.

Detroit—Eikhoff—8.

Washington—McGuire, (changed to Washington, Eikhoff), McKay, Quayle, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Croke, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Brettell, Daly, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Prescott, McCraith, Sullivan, Strasser, Duncan, McCallin, Lloyd, Beerman, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Mullin and O'Sullivan—937.

The President declared Indianapolis as the choice of the Convention.

Delegate Lennon moved that it be the sense of the Convention that the headquarters for the Federation from Indianapolis be not moved for a period of three years, except by a two-thirds vote of the delegates.

A motion was made to refer the matter to the Committee on Laws. Reference agreed to.

Delegate Allen moved that the Convention

proceed to the election of officers. Seconded by Delegate McCallin.

Carried.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Delegate Prescott was called to the chair.

Delegate Eikhoff placed in nomination the name of Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Penna placed in nomination the name of John McBride.

Delegate Cohen seconded the nomination of Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Allen seconded the nomination of John McBride.

Delegate Tracey placed in nomination the name of E. L. Daly.

Delegate Daly withdrew in favor of Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Weismann placed in nomination the name of A. McCraith.

Delegate McCraith withdrew in favor of Samuel Gompers.

Upon motion the nominations closed.

On roll call the result of the ballot was as follows:

FOR GOMPERS—Weismann, McGuire, McKay, Quayle, Neuroth, Dernel, Felz, Croke, Valentine, Fox, Killgallon, Brettell, Daly, Eikhoff, Furuseth, Elderkin, Lennon, Cohen, Prescott, McCraith, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, Lloyd, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Spaegel, Evans, Mullen and O'Sullivan—976.

FOR McBRIDE—Tobin, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, Rowland, Linchan, Daughters, Barnes, Stern, Kelley, McCarthy, Kenchan, Metcalf, Wolfson, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Mahon, Chester, Higgins, Bramwood, Samuels,

McCallum, McCallin, Hofher, Braunschweiger, Beerman, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Ratigan and Svindeth—1170.

Delegate Gompers moved that the election of John McBride be made unanimous.

An objection was made by a delegate and the motion was not adopted.

The chairman then declared John McBride elected to the office of President for the ensuing term.

Nominations for the office of First Vice-President next in order.

Delegate Wolfson nominated Mrs. T. J. Morgan.

Delegate Mullen nominated P. J. McGuire.

Delegate Eikhoff nominated Adolph Strasser.

Delegate Strasser declined. A vote was then taken with the following result.

FOR MRS. T. J. MORGAN—Tobin, Guwang, Hesse, Wolfson, Nugent, McNamara, Beerman and Svindeth—226.

FOR P. J. MCGUIRE—Klapetzky, Daughters, Barnes, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Stern, Kelley, Felz, Croke, McCarthy, Kenehan, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Brettell, Daly, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Eikhoff, Mahon, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, Samuels, McCallum, McCallin, Lloyd, Braunschweiger, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Ratigan, Spaegel, Evans, Weismann, Anderson, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Mullen and O'Sullivan—1865.

Mrs. Morgan moved that the election of Delegate McGuire be made unanimous.

Carried.

Delegate McGuire was declared elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations for the office of Second Vice-President.

Delegate Valentine nominated James Lennon.

Delegate Lennon seconded the nomination.

Delegate Guwang nominated Charles Bechtold of St. Louis.

Delegate Hofher nominated Henry Weismann. Delegate Weismann declined.

The ballot resulted as follows:

FOR DUNCAN—Klapetzky, Weismann, Tobin, Anderson, McGuire, McKay, Roland, Linehan, Quayle, Daughters, Barnes, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Stern, Kelley, Felz, Croke, McCarthy, Kenehan, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Brettell, Daly, Wolfson, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Eikhoff, Mahon, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracy, Samuels, McCallum, McCallin, McNamara, Hofher, Lloyd, Braunschweiger, Beerman, MacArthur, Greenhalgh,

Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Ratigan, Pomeroy, Svindeth, Spaegel, Evans, Mullen and O'Sullivan—2,185.

FOR BECHTOLD—Guwang and Hesse—60.

Delegate Duncan was declared elected to the office of Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations for Third Vice-President.

Delegate Lennon nominated James Brettell.

Delegate Penna nominated Rody Kenehan.

Delegate Eikhoff nominated W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Mahon withdrew in favor of Delegate Kenehan.

Upon motion nominations closed and a ballot was taken resulting as follows:

FOR KENEHAN—Klapetzky, Weismann, Guwang, Hesse, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Daughters, Neuroth, Dernel, Stern, Kelley, Felz, Croke, McCarthy, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Daly, Wolfson, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Mahon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, McNamara, Hofher, Sullivan, Duncan, McCallum, McCallin, Beerman, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Keefe, Ratigan, Svindeth, Spaegel and Evans—1,714.

FOR BRETTELL—Tobin, Anderson, Linehan, Quayle, Barnes, Gompers, Valentine, Eikhoff, Furuseth, Lennon, Prescott, Strasser, Tracey, Samuels, Braunschweiger, MacArthur, Pomeroy, Mullen and O'Sullivan—459.

Upon motion of Delegate Brettell, the election of Delegate Kenehan was made unanimous.

The Chairman declared Delegate Kenehan elected to the office of Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations for Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Daly nominated Harry Lloyd.

Delegate Cooper nominated W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Killgallon nominated T. J. Elderkin.

Delegate McCarthy nominated J. W. Sullivan. Declined.

Delegate Barnes nominated James Brettell. Declined.

Delegate Weismann nominated John B. Lennon. Declined.

Delegate Murphy nominated Lee M. Hart. Declined.

Delegate Pomeroy nominated Henry Weismann. Declined.

Upon motion the nominations were closed and a ballot was taken, resulting as follows:

Lloyd, 773; Mahon, 708; Elderkin, 753.

There being no majority cast for either candidate, another ballot was declared necessary.

Delegate Lloyd withdrew.

Another ballot was taken which resulted as follows:

FOR MAHON—Klapetzky (8½), Weissmann, Tobin (20), Anderson, Rowland, Linehan, Quayle, Daughters, Stern, Kelley, Croke, McCarthy, Kenehan, Metcalf, Daly, Wolfson, McBryde, Nugent, Stout, Eikhoff, Cohen, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Tracey, Duncan, Samuels, Hoffer, Braunschweiger, Greenhalgh, Ratigan, Pomeroy (1½) and Mullen—915.

FOR ELDERKIN—Klapetzky (8½), Tobin (21), Guwang, Hesse, McGuire, McKay, Barnes, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Felz, Valentine, Fox, Killgallon, Brettell, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell, Penna, Murphy, Allen, Furuseth, Lennon, Chester, Hart, Prescott, McNamara, Lloyd, MacArthur, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Pomeroy (1½), Sullivan, Strasser, McCallum, McCallin, Svindseth, Evans and O'Sullivan—1,213.

Delegate Elderkin was declared elected to the office of Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Nominations for Secretary were next in order.

Delegate Stern nominated J. W. Bramwood, who declined.

Delegate Neuroth nominated Adolph Strasser. Declined.

Delegate Allen nominated J. Mahlon Barnes.

Delegate Klapetzky nominated A. McCraith.

Delegate Sullivan seconded the nomination of Delegate McCraith.

Delegate Anderson nominated R. H. Metcalf.

Delegate Eikhoff, seconded the nomination of Delegate Metcalf.

Delegate Evans nominated Chris Evans, who declined after making a statement that since the miners representative had placed in nomination a candidate for the presidency, and the Convention had elected him, it would be inconsistent and entirely out of place for him to be a candidate for Secretary.

Delegate Hart nominated J. J. Linehan.

The nominations closed and a ballot was taken, resulting as follows: Barnes, 273; McCraith, 968½; Metcalf, 242; Linehan, 509½.

No candidate having received a majority of the votes cast, a new ballot was taken, the name of Delegate Metcalf being dropped. The result was as follows:

FOR MCCRAITH—Klapetzky, Quayle, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Stern (14), Kelley, Felz, Croke, McCarthy (10), Fox, Killgallon, Brettell, Daly, Nugent (129), Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Prescott, Higgins, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Samuels, McCallin, McNamara, Lloyd, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Ratigan, Mullen and O'Sullivan—1,096.

FOR BARNES—Tobin, Anderson, Guwang,

Hesse, Daughters, McCarthy (10), Metcalf, Wolfson, Hoffer, Braunschweiger, Beerman, Morgan, McBryde (86), Allen, Stout, Mahon, McCallum, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Svindseth and Evans—391.

For Linehan—Weissmann, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Stern (14), Kenehan, Valentine, Penna (130), Cooper, Murphy, Eikhoff, Keefe, Chester, Hart, Duncan and Pomeroy—548.

Upon motion of Delegate Linehan, seconded by Delegate Barnes, the election of Delegate McCraith was made unanimous.

Nominations for the office of Treasurer were next in order.

Delegate Felz nominated J. B. Lennon.

Delegate McCarthy nominated Samuel Gompers, who declined, seconding the nomination of Mr. Lennon.

Delegate McBryde nominated W. D. Mahon, who also declined.

Upon motion of Delegate Wolfson the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the Convention for John B. Lennon.

Secretary Evans announced the vote, and Delegate John B. Lennon was declared the unanimous choice of the Convention for the office of Treasurer.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

Upon motion of Delegate Hysell the President and Secretary were authorized to notify John McBride by telegram of his election as President.

NEXT CONVENTION.

The selection of a place for holding the next Convention was declared next in order.

Delegate Hart nominated New York.

Delegates Weissmann and O'Sullivan seconded the nomination.

Delegate McCarthy nominated St. Louis.

The roll was called with the following result:

FOR NEW YORK—Klapetzky, Weissmann, Tobin, Guwang, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Quayle, Daughters, Neuroth, Dernel, Stern, Felz, Kenehan, Valentine, Fox, Brettell, Daly, Wolfson, Keefe, Morgan, Hysell (200), Cooper, Allen, Stout, Eikhoff, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, McCallum, McCallin, McNamara, Lloyd, Braunschweiger, Beerman, MacArthur, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Ratigan, Pomeroy, Svindseth, Mullen and O'Sullivan—1335.

FOR ST. LOUIS—Anderson, Hesse, Barnes, Kelley, Croke, McCarthy, Killgallon, McBryde (145), Murphy, Mahon, McCraith, Greenhalgh and Evans—558.

The President declared New York as the place for holding the fifteenth annual convention.

A communication was read from Hon. I. N. Stevens, presenting to the delegates to the Convention books relative to the free coinage of silver.

Upon motion they were accepted.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

A motion was made by Delegate Lennon that two fraternal delegates be elected to the British Trades Union Congress at Cardiff, Wales.

Carried.

Nominations for fraternal delegates being in order, the following were made:

Delegate Hart nominated Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Braunschweiger nominated P. J. McGuire.

Delegate MacArthur nominated A. Furuseth, who declined.

Delegate Allen nominated P. H. Penna.

Delegate Linehan nominated H. Lloyd, who also declined.

Delegate Lloyd nominated George E. McNeill, of Boston.

Delegate Morgan nominated John McBride, whose name was withdrawn.

Delegate Mullen nominated Chris Evans, who also declined.

The time for adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m.

SIXTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m.; President Gompers in the chair.

Roll of delegates called, and the absentees noted.

The business before the house was the consideration of the names of delegates nominated for the offices of fraternal delegates to the next congress of the British Trades Unions.

Delegate Lloyd withdrew the name of George E. McNeill.

Delegate Fox was called to the chair.

The roll was then called, with the following result:

FOR GOMPERS—Klapetzky, Weismann, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, McKay (200), Quayle, Barnes, Neuroth, Dornell, Felz, Croke, McCarthy, Valentine, Killgallon, Brettell, Daly, Wolfson, Keefe, Hyssell, Penna, McBryde, Nugent, Stout, Eikhoff, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, Samuels, McCullum, McNamara, Hofher, Lloyd, Braunschweiger, Beerman, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Ratigan, Pomeroy, Svindseth, Spagel, Evans, Mullen and O'Sullivan—1,747.

FOR MCGUIRE—Klapetzky, Weismann, Tobin, McKay (150), Daughters, Neuroth, Gompers, Dornell, Kelley, Felz, Croke, Kenchan, Fox, Brettell, Daly, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Eikhoff, Mahon, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, Samuels, McCullum, McCallin, McNamara, Lloyd, Brunschweiger, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Pomeroy, Spagel, Mullen and O'Sullivan—1,139.

FOR PENNA—Tobin, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, Quayle, Daughters, Barnes, Kelley, McCarthy, Kenchan, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon,

Wolfson, Keefe, Morgan, Hyssell, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Mahon, Bramwood, McCallin, Hofher, Beerman, Lilly, Mrs. T. J. Morgan, Ratigan, Svindseth, and Evans—870.

On motion of Delegate Penna the election of Delegates Gompers and McGuire was made unanimous.

The Secretary read the following telegram sent to President-elect McBride:

Denver, Colo., Dec. 17, 1894.
Mr. John McBride, Room 53, Clinton Building, Columbus, Ohio:

Per instruction of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, we hereby respectfully and officially notify you of your election to the presidency.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

The special committee on Seamen's Resolution No. 151 reported as follows:

We, your special committee on Resolution No. 51, demanding the passage of House Bill Nos. 5,501-2-3-3-4-5-6, 5603 and 7,295, introduced at the last Congress by the Hon. James G. McGuire, of California, we recommend that two members of this body be elected, one of whom must be a member of the Seamen's Union to go to Washington for the purpose of urging the passage of the above-named bills.

2. That all National Unions and Central Bodies represented in the American Federation of Labor take the question up and instruct their locals to write to their respective Congressmen, asking them to vote and work for the passage of the aforesaid bills.

3. That we request the Hon. John Burns, in his public meetings in our different cities, make special mention of the seamen's condi-

tion, and the necessity of immediate action for the relief of our seamen.

4. And that Local Unions call public meetings demanding the passage of the aforesaid bills.

JOHN NUGENT,
MRS. T. J. MORGAN,
W. D. MAHON.

Upon motion the report of the committee was received and the recommendation was concurred in.

Delegate Wolfson was granted privilege to introduce a resolution referring to employees' abuses at Lynn, Mass. No. 120.

Delegate Kelley introduced a resolution on Electrical Workers, No. 122.

Resolution No. 121—Relating to the sweat-
ing system.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows, No. 59, by A. Furuseth:

WHEREAS, Various inspired articles and interviews have recently appeared in the press, advocating the application of the maritime laws to the employees of the transportation companies of the United States, the especial feature of which is involuntary servitude,

RESOLVED, That this Convention repudiates the principle of such proposed legislation, conceiving it to be a desperate attempt to suppress the power of the people growing out of adversity and education; and further

RESOLVED, That such methods of suppression are in themselves more dangerous to the welfare of society than the evils which they seek to avoid; and

"RESOLVED, That we will hold all advocates of this barbarous method of force and reactionary principle of legislation to the strictest accountability."

Committee recommends adoption. Report of Committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 6, on Convict Contract Labor, by Delegate Eikhoff.

WHEREAS, The legislature of the state of Michigan, in 1893, passed a law that the prisons of said state should not let the convicts out at contract to private firms, and as the warden of the prison at Jackson, Michigan, has violated the same by entering into a contract with the Derby Bicycle Company of Chicago, Ill., for one hundred convicts at forty cents per day of ten hours labor, and as it affects our organization directly, and all the organizations in the American Federation of Labor indirectly, and

WHEREAS, Our organization has engaged an attorney to enforce the law, and it is necessary to take the matter to the Supreme Court of the state, and the expenses incurred are \$250.00, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, reimburse the Metal Polishers' Buffers and Platers' Union of North America, for the expense incurred in this matter.

Committee recommends adoption. Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 34, by Mrs. Morgan:

EIGHT HOURS A DAY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

WHEREAS, Improved machinery, which is now the chief factor in the production of all branches of manufacture, has brought about the displacement of men's labor by that of women and children; and

WHEREAS, The health of these women and children is ruined by long hours of toil; and—even worse than this—the overtaxing of the strength of the girls of today threatens to destroy the generations to come; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, believing in the eight-hour day for all workers of both sexes, is pledged to the support of all measures tending to that end; therefore

RESOLVED, That we believe there should be a uniform limit to the hours of labor for women and children in all manufacturing establishments; and this limit should be secured by legislative enactment; and that such legislation should be based upon the best law yet enacted; and

RESOLVED, That the eight hour limit to the working day of females prescribed by the Illinois Workshop and Factories law should be extended to the women and minors in all the states; and

RESOLVED, That we recommend that a bill to secure this eight-hour law for all women and children be introduced by the various affiliated bodies in every State Legislature meeting this winter.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendations concurred in.

Resolution No. 99, by Daley and Wolfson:

RESOLVED, That we appreciate the spirit in which the United States Immigration authorities have co-operated with the officials of the American Federation of Labor during the past year.

We believe that they have, as reported by our President, and as confirmed by our own observations, done their best to enforce the existing immigration laws, and especially those which have been passed at the request of organized labor for the purpose of excluding alien laborers imported under contract. In our opinion the existing laws relating to European immigration are, however, defective in many particulars, which have been carefully pointed out by the honorable President of this body, who has made a thorough study of the subject.

RESOLVED, That it is our opinion that the attention of Congress should be directed to the large transient provincial immigration annually entering the United States, and that it is the sense of this body that the investigation as to its resultant effect upon American labor, now being made under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, by the Special Immigration Investigating Committee, appointed by him, should be encouraged and our members everywhere requested to assist them in their work.

RESOLVED, That the suggestion and recommendation of President Gompers, for the amendment of the Immigration laws, be annexed to a copy of these resolutions and transmitted under the seal of the Federation to the Secretary of the Treasury, and that the Exec-

utive Council be instructed to use every effort to have such suggestions and recommendations incorporated in the law.

Committee recommends adoption.

Report adopted and recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 55. By Delegate Brettell:

WHEREAS, At the Bankers' Convention, held at Baltimore, a plan was adopted which provides for issuing currency based on national bank stock; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we think the real property of the country, and the various products of labor, are just as good, if not a better basis for a currency, than national bank shares; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we denounce the "Baltimore plan" as a scheme which bestows a special privilege to the national bankers to rob the people.

Committee recommends adoption.

Report adopted and recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 35. By Mrs. T. J. Morgan:

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

WHEREAS, The work of the Illinois Factory Inspectors in the epidemic of small pox in the sweat shops of Chicago last summer brought to light the fact that Chicago was shipping throughout the West, Northwest, and Southwest, garments carrying in them the germs of small-pox; and

WHEREAS, The failure of the tag and license laws of Massachusetts and New York proves that the sweating system and tenement house manufacture cannot be regulated; and

WHEREAS, The danger of spreading disease and death from tenement shops can never be removed until tenement house manufacture has been abolished; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests the affiliated unions to introduce in the legislatures of all States in which such manufactures is carried on, laws for its abolition; and

RESOLVED, That any constitution which may be found to block the way of this vitally necessary reform must be amended or abrogated.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 61. By Delegate Lennon:

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to draft a suitable memorial expressive of our sentiments of esteem and confidence in Brothers John Burns and David Holmes, delegates from the British Trades Union Congress to this Convention, and present the same engrossed to Brothers Burns and Holmes.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 65. On Eight Hour Law. By Mr. Lloyd:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does heartily endorse the principle of a legal work day not exceeding eight hours, and strongly advises all affiliated bodies to take such action as they may deem best to have the same brought before the Legislature in their respective States, and that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to give such assistance and advice as may be necessary to crystallize the principle of this resolution into the organic laws of the republic.

In the opinion of the committee whatever action is at present called for in the eight-hour question is recommended in the President's address and the report of the committee thereon.

Report of committee non-concurred in and resolution adopted.

Resolution No. 63.

WHEREAS, Robert J. Beattie and Hugh Dempsey are still incarcerated in the Allegheny Penitentiary, in Pennsylvania, because of their connection with the Homestead strike, and their devotion to the case of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Witnesses who testified against the aforesaid have since confessed that they were bribed to do so, and perjured themselves, and the same can now be proven; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to adopt such measures as will in their judgment procure the liberation of Messrs. Beattie and Dempsey.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 74. By Delegate J. W. Sullivan.

RESOLVED That this convention recommends that each affiliated organization of the American Federation of Labor, local, state and International, establish a standing committee on Direct Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum, the duties of such committee to be to assist in the gradual introduction of the systematic practice of direct legislation, to the extent feasible, in the unions, and in local and State governments.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 75. By Delegate J W Sullivan:

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommends to the unions in each community, wherever practicable, the formation of a non-partisan central social reform club, the purpose of which shall be to bring together, for mutual aid and instruction, such persons of various vocations as entertain a serious interest in the social problem, and desire to influence public opinion in favor of union labels and of the trades union movement in general, and such economic reforms as will serve to leave to the worker the wealth which he produces.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 10. By Delegates Daly and Wolfson.

WHEREAS, The traffic in human flesh which is openly carried on in various parts of this country under what is commonly known as the "Padrone" system, is in its effects most injurious to all forms of organized labor and contrary to the spirit of our free American institutions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention denounce those who profit by this padrone system as enemies of this republic; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation be and hereby is authorized to take such steps as it may deem necessary, either by itself or in co-operation with other forces, to secure from the Congress of the United States the enactment of such legislation as will remove this system of slavery from the soil of free America.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No 80. By Delegate O'Sullivan

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in fourteenth annual session assembled, hereby declares that further restriction of immigration is unnecessary except in keeping out contract laborers, criminal other than political, and those who are apt to become a public charge.

Committee reported favorably.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No 83. By Delegate Stout

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, of Labor, in Convention assembled, demand the enactment by the present Congress of a law prohibiting the issuance of bonds in any manner of any kind or denomination except the same be authorized by a special law, which law must originate in the Lower House of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be at once furnished the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Speaker, of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Finance Committees of both houses of Congress and each member of both houses of Congress.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No 89, referring to American Railway Union strike commission report, was on motion decided to refer the matter to the Executive Council.

The committee reported the following, which was adopted:

APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.

Friends and Co-Workers:

To give the public an opportunity to thoroughly understand the present trouble between the Perth Amboy Terra Cotta Company and its employees, the Press Committee take this method of refuting certain false stories which have been circulated to the injury of the employees.

We quote the general manager, who said: "I am not against our workmen having their union, and am always willing to receive a committee from them to adjust grievances." Believing that such was the case a committee communicated with the company, asking for

the restoration of their former scale of wages, but the communication was entirely ignored.

On the first of April we received a reduction of 10 per cent, without any notification, and when a committee wanted to know the why and the wherefore of the reduction it was informed by the superintendent that the reduction was not permanent and he had no doubt but that the company would refund the 10 per cent, reduction as soon as work got brisk.

At the present time the Perth Amboy Terra Cotta Company has the "cream" of the work in the market, and practically at their own figure; this is on account of having the best facilities for turning out work.

Other terra cotta works are at the present time paying higher wages for the same class of work. The injustice of the company in this matter is now proven by the fact that it is willing to pay from \$3.50 to \$4 per day for eight hours in New York for model and mould making, this same work being done in its own factory at from 10 to 32½ cents per hour. It should be borne in mind that the men who received the highest wages have not averaged \$2 per day since January 1, 1894.

Brothers, our object in bringing our grievances before you is to show you the injustice practised by our employers in sending their work to Europe to be completed because we would not accept their terms. Now, if "contracts" that have been given to American firms can be sent out of the United States because the employees have a grievance, thereby robbing American workmen of their labor, what will be the issue in the future for organized bodies?

We wish you to give our statements your immediate attention and publicity, and denounce the authors who would rob American mechanics of their work. Respectfully,

THE COMMITTEE.

Address, American Terra Cotta Workers' Union, No. 1, Perth Amboy, N. J.

This appeal is endorsed by the New Jersey Federation of Trades Unions and the New York Central Labor Union.

The committee recommends adoption and the recommendation was agreed to.

The following telegram was read by President Gompers:

Columbus, O., December, 17, 1894.

To Convention of Federation of Labor:

Please thank the delegates in my name for the high honor they have conferred upon me, and assure them that I shall aim to do my duty faithfully and fearlessly, and hope to be able to reflect credit upon my administration and upon the American Federation of Labor.

JOHN McBRIDE.

The Committee on Resolutions reported Resolution No 114, referring to loan of \$1,000 to Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Referred to incoming Executive Council.

Resolution. No. 76. By Delegate J. W. Sullivan.

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommends that each affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall establish a Com-

mittee on Press, the duties of which shall be to take measures to defend, through the press or otherwise, the trades unions from the common misrepresentations made by opponents, and to have accurate information on labor matters to be placed before the public, among such measures being the following: Requiring reporters present at labor meetings to give to the presiding officer for announcement their names and the names of the papers they respectively represent; requiring accuracy in reports of interviews with representative labor men, and providing for other methods of correcting inaccuracies in printed statements regarding labor matters.

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation of Committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 81. By Delegate O'Sullivan:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be directed to secure legal advice as to limiting or regulating the penalty in contempt cases, and if it be deemed advisable that steps be taken to prevent interference of the courts in strikes, where no destruction of property or loss of life is caused by the strikers.

Committee recommends adoption. Agreed to.

Resolution No. 54. By Delegate Bramwood.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the following memorial be approved and forwarded to the members of Congress by the Secretary of the Federation:

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, citizens of the United States, respectfully protest against the passage of either the bill prepared by the Attorney General of the United States, now pending in the Senate, or the bill presented by the House Committee on Pacific Railroad, now pending before the House of Representatives, or any other bill of a similar character; both of said bills being for the reorganization of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railways, and for the extension of their securities.

First—Because said bills ignore almost entirely the interests, present and prospective, of the people now occupying, and the multitude of citizens hereafter to occupy, the vast, rich and fertile region of the country served and vitally affected by said railroad system; a country including the states of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Northern New Mexico, Northern Texas, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, Western Montana and Washington, as well as California, being at least one-quarter of the area of the whole United States, and including a very large extent of what is by all odds the richest part, in natural resources, of the whole country.

Second—Because they both extend to an unreasonable time for any government to bind, or to legislate for, the people in a new country on such a vital matter, and granting a dangerous franchise for a hundred years, or even fifty years, to come.

Third—We protest against the passage of any such bill, because instead of considering the matter in the light of what ought to be

the first question, i. e., the public interest and national welfare, their main consideration is directed to a question of how to recoup the stockholders of the main line of the Union Pacific road, the successors of the Credit Mobilier, the most pampered beneficiaries and the recipients of the largest powers to oppress the people, and of the most munificent contributions of government aid in the history of the country.

Fourth—Because these bills extend and ratify the authority of said beneficiaries to foreclose and to cut off all other stockholders in the branches of the Union Pacific system, who were never aided by the government, and who owe it nothing. And for the unworthy purpose of using their property to strengthen the Union Pacific security, now only on its main line, it is proposed that the branch lines also shall be mortgaged to the government to strengthen its security for the whole property, on low valuation and low interest, for fifty or a hundred years to come.

Fifth—Because both bills propose to rehabilitate the Union Pacific corporation with power to run the vast system, main line and branches, as it has heretofore done, discriminating against the development of one part of the country breaking down its manufacturing and building up others, suppressing the trade of one place for the benefit of another, to the enormous profit and aggrandizement of its own company, and especially the persons and parties in control thereof, and that for generations to come.

Sixth—We protest against the government conferring upon the Union Pacific Railway Company, the Union Pacific system, or the Central Pacific Railroad of California, or any other corporation, the credit of the government, to enable either or all of them to borrow money at the rate of 2 or 3 per cent. per annum, as is proposed in all the plans for their reorganization.

Committee recommends adoption, and on motion was agreed to.

Resolution No. 29, by the International Typographical delegation:

RESOLVED, That this Convention reiterates its demand for the government ownership of the telegraph lines of this country, and the officers of this Federation are hereby ordered to heartily assist the efforts of the International Typographical Union to attain this end.

Committee reports favorably and report adopted.

Resolution No. 90, by Delegate McCallum, relative to blacklisting:

WHEREAS, Many thousand railway men who struck to secure justice to Pullman employees, have been ever since blacklisted and unable anywhere in the United States to secure employment in their regular avocation, thus entailing great distress and privation upon themselves and their families; and

WHEREAS, A large proportion of such railways are in the possession of receivers, appointed and controlled by the Federal courts, at an enormous cost to the taxpayers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation

of Labor, in National Convention assembled, that we deprecate and condemn such black-listing of men, whose sole offense is a noble and commendable sympathy for their fellow-men in distress; that we respectfully but urgently request that the Federal judiciary in immediate control of such railways and their receivers cause immediate and thorough investigation to be made of the facts aforementioned, and that they make such orders in the premises as may be necessary to remedy these evils and right these great wrongs, and to re-establish and maintain that supreme respect for, and confidence in, our judiciary which is the last and almost the sole refuge of the poor and oppressed.

Committee recommends adoption, and the report is concurred in.

On motion of Delegate Valentine the convention took up the election of two delegates to proceed to Washington and to act on a committee to look after the interests of the Seamen's bills.

Delegate Allen nominated Louis Wolfson.

Delegate O'Sullivan nominated A. Furuseth.

Delegate Valentine nominated Adolph Strasser.

Delegate Tracey seconded the nomination of Delegate Strasser.

Delegate Kelley nominated James Duncan, who declined.

The nominations were, on motion, closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Pomeroy, the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Delegate Furuseth.

Delegate Furuseth was declared the unanimous choice of the convention.

The roll of delegates were called on candidates Strasser and Wolfson with the following result:

FOR STRASSER—Weismann, Anderson, Guwang, Hesse, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Quayle, Daughters, Barnes, Neuroth, Gompers, Darnell, Kelley, Felz, McCarthy, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Killgallon, Wolfson, Keefe, Penna, Mahon, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Tracey, Duncan, Samuels, McCallum, McNamara, Lloyd, Braunschweiger, MacArthur, Greenhalgh, Ratigan, Pomeroy, Evans and O'Sullivan—1,699.

FOR WOLFSON—Tobin, Cooke, Daly, Morgan, McBryde, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Allen, Stout, Strasser, McCallin, Beerman, Mrs. T. J. Morgan and Mullen—419.

Delegate Strasser was declared elected.

The Committee on Grievances reported as follows:

Communication No. 46—Protesting against the seating of W. H. Howard. The committee recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council and the motion to refer was adopted.

The committee reported the grievance of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and

Joiners of America. Committee recommended that it be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Delegate Valentine moved that the Executive Council shall take action in the matter, and notify both sides within sixty days.

Amendment adopted.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

The committee reported on Grievance No. 4. By Lennon and Cohen:

Grievance of Journeymen Tailors' Union of America against Retail Clerks National Union:

Complaint is that Clerks Union No. 7, of Denver, Colo., issued an official directory, in which firms were advertised that employed scab tailors, and said firms were also under boycott by the Tailors' Union No. 3, of Denver.

The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America asks at the hands of your committee and the Convention a declaration in the case that will prevent a recurrence of such cases in the future. The undersigned delegates desire to be heard by your committee.

Denver, Colo., Dec. 15, 1894.

To the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GENTLEMEN—We, your committee on grievances, having under consideration the complaint of Tailors' Union No. 3, of Denver, against Clerks Union No. 7, respectfully submit the following report:

That all unions under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, or affiliated bodies, shall, when issuing any souvenir, journal, directory or other publication, refrain from advertising any firm that is antagonistic to, or employs any workmen who are not union men, when the trade is organized.

WILLIAM ANDERSON,

JOHN BRAUNSCHWEIGER,

W. D. MAHON,

A. FURUSETH.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

The Committee on Grievances reported on Resolution No. 33—Relative to revoking charter of Tin and Sheet Iron Workers Union No. 102. The committee recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies reported on Resolution No. 68:

Denver, Colo., Dec. 13, 1894.

RESOLVED, That this Convention place itself on record as deprecating the action of the several organizations of the building trades in New York City, represented in the Convention, towards Local No. 161, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, and that the incoming Executive Council of the Federation be instructed to investigate the matter, and bring about a just recognition of said organization.

The resolution was agreed to.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY—Morning Session.

Convention called to order at 9 o'clock sharp, President Gompers in the chair.

The roll of delegates was called and the absentees noted.

Upon motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The Committee on Resolutions continued their report:

Resolution No. 28:

Lincoln, Ill., December, 8, 1894.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Denver, Col.:

GREETING—We, the members of Cigar Makers' International Union, No. 154, of Lincoln, Ill., wish to call your attention to a subject which, at the present time, is agitating the minds of every thinking man and woman, and which is of great importance to every toiler; we refer to the question of compulsory arbitration as advocated by so many, a few of whom are undoubtedly sincere and honest and well meaning in the cause of labor; others we believe to be designing and cunning in the interest of capital, for we are convinced that to put upon our statute books laws which will compel a man to work against his own free will, to create a commission whose duty it shall be to arbitrate all differences between labor and capital, and to have statutory power to enforce its decisions, is nothing but a gigantic effort to enslave labor in the fullest and truest sense of the word. The development of social and industrial affairs of society have produced conditions which in the near future will probably necessitate a change either for more freedom, more and better education, etc., for the mass of the people—in short, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as declared in that great document of 1776, must not be a mockery, but must be made to exist, and in such a way as to insure to every human being its full enjoyment and blessings. Or, on the other hand, a change may ensue whereby the masses will surely become destitute of liberty and whatever privileges they may yet enjoy. In other words, we will have a repetition of the catastrophes which beset Rome, Greece and other countries, where labor—the word is used in broad conception—accomplished wonders and where civilization was carried to unprecedented heights, and where it all crumbled down and only ruins remained of former splendor, and where the light of civilization became dimmer and dimmer until it seemed to be out forever, simply because a few were permitted to appropriate nearly all of the national wealth and to make laws in their own interest, to the detriment of the masses, and which the soldiery enforced. The creation of compulsory arbitration laws will, in our estimation, surely bring about like conditions, which we all know are already bad enough.

The cry of American plutocracy for a greater standing army, for an increase in the militia

and the police forces of our greater cities, the concentration of troops at our industrial centers, should remind every thoughtful man that there is danger ahead, danger to American freedom and liberty, danger to civilization and progress. And it lies in that piece of class legislation which they propose to enact and would enforce strictly against labor ninety times out of one hundred, and if labor showed signs of rebellion (and every strike is called rebellion) against the curtailment of certain inalienable rights, "the strong arm of the law" would soon restore order.

Therefore we hope that you, the representatives of the greatest labor organization of this continent, will take steps and adopt measures, to be presented to the Congress of the United States, to the end that we are opposed to any and all legislation embodying the principle of compulsory arbitration; and we would furthermore suggest that every trade unionist connected with the American Federation of Labor be supplied with a petition through his union, and that every one secure at least twenty-five names on his petition, the same to be collected from the individual members of the union and returned to the office of the American Federation of Labor. Select a committee at your Convention and have the same present this monster protest to the United States Congress.

Hoping that you will give this matter your earnest consideration, and that your work in the Convention may be of the greatest benefit to the laboring millions, we are yours fraternally,

CIGAR MAKERS' UNION, NO. 154,
- of Lincoln, Ill.

Committee reported favorably and the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 122:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that all fundamental patents on the telephone and incandescent lamp should be declared expired, and in the future no fundamental patents should be granted.

Committee reported favorably. Report of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 41, relative to independent political action. The committee reported adversely.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 120. By Delegates Daly and Wolfson:

WHEREAS, Francis W. Breed, of Lynn, Mass., an open and avowed enemy of organized labor, has again declared open war with a view to disrupt organized labor; and

WHEREAS, said Francis W. Breed, of Lynn, Mass., and Rochester, N. H., has, through the influence of wealth and other subterfuge, cunning and misrepresentation, obtained from the courts of justice—so called—an arbitrary injunction enjoining members

of labor organizations from even the passing through streets where said Breed's factories are located; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby declare its most profound condemnation of the acts of said Breed and the United States Shoe Company and their unfriendly attitude toward organized labor.

RESOLVED, That we most earnestly and emphatically protest against the unjust decrees of the courts of justice of Massachusetts in behalf of said capitalistic enemies of the wage-workers.

Committee recommend adoption by the Convention.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 94, relative to appropriation for relief of wives and children of Union officers or members unjustly imprisoned in the discharge of their duties. Referred to the Executive Council.

Resolution 121, relative to a revenue bill for the abolition of sweating system. Reported without recommendation.

Mrs. T. J. Morgan offered a motion that the bill be endorsed.

Delegate Gompers moved as a substitute that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, and that the Council consult the officers of the trades referred to in the bill. Carried.

The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies continued their report.

Resolution No. 109. By Delegate Metcalf:

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Federation are instructed to more strictly carry out the laws in compelling local unions who are affiliated with this body to join their national union in all cases where such exist.

Committee reported favorably, and report was concurred in.

Resolution No. 116:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of New York is composed largely of local unions directly or nationally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 36, of the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has been refused admittance to the Central Labor Union, while a local seceded union has thus been honored, thus depriving members of an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the right to work in New York City; and

WHEREAS, This has been brought about because local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor gave their support to a seceded local and against a local of a national organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, of Labor through its delegates in Convention assembled, disapprove of such action on the part of unions, and insist that in all

such cases a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall receive full support.

The committee reported favorably.

Report of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 105:

BE IT RESOLVED, That this Convention most emphatically disapprove of the action of a number of unions of the Cigar Makers, Machinists and Furniture Workers' International Unions in affiliating with and supporting the Central Labor Federation of New York in their open antagonism against the International Union of Bakers and Confectioners, and that we urge the aforesaid International Unions to exercise their influence toward the end of causing the withdrawal of their locals from said body, and thereby demonstrate their spirit of unionism and solidarity, which, through the action of the Central Labor Federation of New York, is seriously jeopardized.

The committee reported favorably.

A motion was made to concur in the report of the committee.

An amendment was made to refer to Executive Council.

The amendment was lost.

Roll call was demanded on the motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee, with the following result:

Yeas—Weismann, Anderson, McGuire, McKay, Rowland, Linehan, Neuroth, Gompers, Dernel, Kelley, Kenahan, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Daly, Penna, Nugent, Cooper, Murphy, Eikhoff, Mahon, Furuseth, Lennon, Cohen, Chester, Hart, Prescott, Higgins, McCraith, Bramwood, Sullivan, Strasser, Tracey, Duncan, Samuels, McCallum, McCallin, McNamara, Braunschweiger, Greenhalgh, Lilly, Pomeroy, Evans and O'Sullivan—1417.

Nays—Hesse, McCarthy, Morgan, Allen, Stout, Beerman and Mrs. Morgan—92.

The report was declared adopted.

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies report favorably on Resolution No. 68, submitted by Delegates Cooper, Murphy, and Allen, relative to Brotherhood of Painters in New York City; Resolution No. 109, by Delegate Metcalf, on enforcing existing laws; Resolution by Delegate Weismann, No. 105, relative to Central Labor Federation of New York City, and Resolution by Delegate Kelley, No. 116, regarding action of New York Unions.

And further would submit the following recommendations: That it is their opinion that the existing laws, as found in section 3 of article 10, is not strictly enforced, and in the future the national officers should be careful in giving charters to federated bodies.

(Signed)

M. DAUGHTERS, Chairman.
PHIL A. HOFER, Secretary.
E. L. EVANS,
E. GUWANG,
A. McCALLIN.

Report adopted.

Delegate Dernel desired to be recorded as having, on the previous day, voted for Delegate Gompers for president.

Special Committee on Injunction and case of Eugene V. Debs, reported as follows:

Seeing that courts of equity have extended their jurisdiction far beyond all former limits and in a field heretofore entirely unknown to such courts and which action endangers the personal liberty and rights of our citizens individually and collectively, and which if not checked may lead to serious results to the republic, it would therefore seem to us to be the part of wisdom on the part of those whose duty it is to look after the rights and liberties of the people, that is, the law-making power of the Federal government, to proceed at once to enact a law which will set a limit in such proceedings, beyond which equity courts may not go.

While we recognize the rights of property, we also recognize that the rights of personal liberty, consistent with good government, is over and above all other rights, and it should be the part of the government to protect the weak as against the strong, and to see to it that no injustice is done to any citizen, be he high or low, and that equal protection is given to the humblest in the land;

Therefore, be it resolved by the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that we most respectfully and earnestly demand at the hands of our law-making body, the enactment of such laws as will carry out the principles as above set forth, to the end that our people may not lose confidence in their judicial institutions, and thereby cause the very foundations of the republic to be endangered.

Adopted.

The following invitation was accepted.

To The Officers and Delegates of this Convention:

The Committee of Arrangements and the proprietor of the St. James Hotel invite you to take dinner with them at the St. James Hotel at 7:30 this evening.

ROADY KENEHAN.

Report continued of the special committee on injunction cases.

This Convention, having heard with regret of the conviction and possible incarceration in the County Jail of Cook county, Ill., of Eugene V. Debs, President of the American Railway Union, and his co-laborers, on the charge of being in contempt of court by violating the restraining order issued by the United States District Court, which order was issued at the instance of the General Railroad Managers' Association of Chicago; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that we extend to Eugene V. Debs and those associated with him in their present trouble, and to all of the other similar cases throughout the land, our sincere sympathy and commiseration, and promise them both our moral and financial support in the struggle to right both the wrongs already committed and those which may in the future be committed in the name of the law; and we recommend to this Convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to lend to those men such financial aid as in their judgment the Federation is able to supply, and that they are further instructed to aid them in securing legal council and advice looking to the appeal-

ing of these cases to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the question of the right of courts to issue what is known as blanket injunctions may be finally tested.

Adopted.

On motion of Delegate Lennon, the Secretary was instructed to send a certified copy of the resolution to Eugene V. Debs, and also to the miners imprisoned in the Tazewell (Ill.) county prison.

By Delegate Eikhoff.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, have reasons to believe that the Postal Department are about to establish a mounted postal service, and that such department proposes to use the Derby bicycle, manufactured in the State Prison at Jackson, Mich; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, protest against the use of the Derby bicycle in the Postal Department; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Postmaster General by the Secretary.

On motion, it was adopted.

Delegate Felz offered the following, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, The wholesale clothiers of the city of Boston, viz: Standard Clothing Company, Milner, Beal and Co., Smith, Carter, Conner & Co., Richardson, Smith & Chase, Whitten, Burdett & Co., have settled their controversy with the United Garment Workers of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the action of the United Garment Workers of America in lifting the boycott placed upon the above named firms.

Delegate Felz also offered the following:

WHEREAS, The firm of Danbe, Cohen & Co., wholesale clothiers of Chicago, Ill., are discriminating against organized labor and refuse to abide by the prevailing conditions in the trade relative to wages, etc.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend to the public and organized labor to refrain from dealing with any retail merchant that handles the goods of the above mentioned firm.

On motion, the resolution was approved and referred to the Executive Council, who will make efforts to adjust the difficulties.

The committee on the Phillips bill reported as follows:

Majority report.

To the Officers and Members:

The majority of the committee would recommend that the action of the Executive Council in indorsing H. R. 7750, introduced by Mr. Phillips, which is now pending in Congress, be approved by the Convention.

We would also recommend that in case the said bill becomes a law, all matters indorsed by this body, requiring Congressional action, shall be submitted to the representatives of labor provided for in the bill, and that efforts be put forth by the Executive Council to

secure the appointment of union men as such representatives.

We would further recommend that all bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor petition their respective Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for the passage of the above-named measure.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN W. BRAMWOOD,
AUG. BEERMAN,
J. H. RATIGAN.

Minority report.

We oppose the endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of the Phillips bill for the following reasons:

First—As a measure intended to facilitate legislation it is inadequate and would prove abortive—

Because:

First—It fails to provide any assurance that Congress would consider favorably the measure approved by the commission.

Second—Because the passage of the bill would result in the erection and operation at the expense of the producers of the nation a cumbersome and illogically constructed political machine with no power to initiate or enforce its legislation.

Third—Because from the manner of its selection under the spoils system, instead of being an adjunct of Congress, it would undoubtedly become a mere cat paw for the securing of legislative chestnuts at the nod of lobbyists and antagonistic to legislation in the interests of the masses.

Fourth—Because such a body is under present circumstances entirely unnecessary. The committee rooms of Congress are open to all citizens who desire to appear in behalf of legislation, and hence the establishment of an intermediary between the people and the servants of the people is both unnecessary and undemocratic, and would tend to separate to a dangerous extent the citizens of the nation and the nation's lawmakers.

Fifth—Because it would to a great degree remove from the shoulders of electors' legislators their grave responsibility to the people, and place the odium of their acts upon the shoulders of official appointees answerable only to the President of the United States, and for whose impeachment for malfeasance no provision is made.

Sixth—Because it would increase the already too great patronage of the President of the United States, and would establish a political machine dangerous to the public at large, and more especially to independent political movements.

Seventh—Because appointive office in such high places is not democratic, and is inconsistent with the purposes sought to be achieved.

We recommend a substitute for the Phillips bill the following:

That Congress enact into laws the initiative and referendum, in order that the citizens of the nation may by direct legislation accomplish the purposes proposed by the Phillips bill, and such other legal enactments as an enlightened people require.

Fraternally,
CHARLES GREENHALGH.
W. C. POMEROY.

During the consideration of the reports

—9

of the Special Committee, President Gompers was called from the room temporarily, and Delegate Strasser was called to the chair.

Delegate Hysell presented the following:

WHEREAS, The recent change in the officers of the American Federation of Labor removed from the official life a leader who, because of his special fitness, was called to the position he has so long occupied, and the duties of which he has so faithfully performed;

WHEREAS, For the last twenty years Samuel Gompers has been an active worker in the labor movement; serving as a private in the ranks; as an artisan in the shop, and thereby gaining that knowledge and experience which has been so useful to him in administering the affairs of this organization;

WHEREAS, During the many struggles of past years he has brought to the cause a devotion and courage that commands admiration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, desire to express in some degree our appreciation of the worth of their leader. It is unnecessary to recite in detail his many self-sacrificing acts which are already indelibly imprinted on the records of the labor movement. We earnestly hope that his future may be blessed. We feel that it is a matter for congratulation and rejoicing that the trade union movement may still avail itself of his talents and his influence for the emancipation of labor.

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the convention, and that the incoming Executive Council be directed to have the same engrossed, framed and presented to Mr. Samuel Gompers.

The resolution was agreed to unanimously.

The consideration of the reports of the Special Committee on the Phillips bill was then resumed.

Delegate Pomeroy's time having expired during the delivery of his remarks, on motion, further time was granted.

The motion to adopt the minority report was lost. Yeas, 17; nays, 28.

The majority report of the committee was adopted.

The following delegates were recorded as voting in the negative:

Weismann, McArthur, Cohen, McNamara, Pomeroy, Cooper, Greenhalgh and Hart.

Delegate Eikhoff offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be empowered to suggest such changes as are necessary for the best interest of labor.

Adopted.

The Committee on Organization reported as follows:

Resolution No. 102. By Delegate Klapetzky.

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED, That all local and federated bodies connected with the

American Federation of Labor shall do all in their power to organize the barbers in cities not already organized; also that all local unions whose national and international union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and are connected with any trades assembly or trades council, which accepts to membership any organization of barbers not affiliated with the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, said local union shall do all in its power to induce said non-affiliated barbers' organization to affiliate with the aforesaid Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America at the earliest opportunity.

Committee reports favorably.

Report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 85. By Delegate Spaegel:

WHEREAS, Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, has upon the floor of the Convention of the National League of Musicians, United States, in Baltimore, so eloquently expressed his great admiration, respect, and recognition of the National League of Musicians, as the supreme and only organization for the interest of the musicians of this country; and

WHEREAS, The obstructions to a completely successful organization are mostly caused by anticipated help and protection provided by our great laboring institutions to parties who are either objectionable to the National League of Musicians or for other reasons, and not affiliated with said body; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Denver, refuse to render any aid, assistance, support, or to issue any charter to any body of musicians who may apply to them, unless such body of musicians is a regularly organized Musical League in good standing and under the laws, charter and protection of the National League of Musicians, United States.

Committee reports unfavorably.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 88:

WHEREAS, The use of electricity has extended so rapidly during the past few years that today it gives employment to hundreds of thousands, and, in a short time, will give employment to millions of men and women; and

WHEREAS, The application of this, the greatest force in nature, has been controlled from its first introduction by monopoly in its worst form—monopoly that counts its capital by untold millions; monopoly that can influence our courts, from the lowest to the highest tribunal in the land; monopoly that has the Attorney General of the United States as its mouthpiece, and uses the Patent Office as a toy; and

WHEREAS, These monopolies have by direct order or intimidation, deprived their employes of the right to organize and in a number of cases compelled them to sign an agreement not to join a labor organization, and in all cases discharges them when found to belong to such organization, which has made it difficult to organize the Electrical Workers of the United States, and the longer their organization is delayed and the more difficult it will be to organize them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give all assistance possible towards organizing the Electrical Workers, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor instruct its organizers to make special efforts towards organizing the Electrical Workers.

Committee reported favorably.

The report of the committee was agreed to.

The hour of 12:30 having arrived, the President declared the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock.

SEVENTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2 o'clock sharp, President Gompers in the chair.

Consideration of Resolution No. 67, regarding the affiliation with National Union of Electrical Workers was, after considerable debate, tabled.

Resolution No. 111. By Delegate McCallin.

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation use its best endeavors to have the International Plasterers' Association to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Committee reports favorably. Recommendation of committee concurred in.

Resolution No. 97. From Trade and Labor Assembly, Chicago.

WHEREAS, The Reed and Rattan Workers of North America are but poorly organized

throughout North America; and

WHEREAS, No trade has more to contend with in unfair competition and penitentiary products; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that all State Federations, Trade and Labor Assemblies and Central Labor organizations be, and the same are hereby instructed, to organize the reed and rattan workers in their immediate neighborhood.

Committee reports favorably. Adopted.

Resolution No. 106, from the Central Trades Federation of Kansas City, was referred to the Executive Council.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS.

To the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen — Your Committee on Laws organized by selecting P. J. McGuire as chair-

man and W. B. Prescott as Secretary, and begs leave to report as follows on matters submitted to it for consideration and action:

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of Secretary Evans, that Section 2 of Article IV., by striking out all after the word "to" in line 5, and inserting the following in lieu thereof: "Based upon the average membership during the year from the reports made to the office of the Federation not later than October 31 preceding each annual convention."

Secretary Evans amendment to Section 4, of Article IV., striking out the word "but" in line 3, after the word "Federation," and substituting therefor the conjunction, "and" is also approved.

Your committee further approves the Secretary's recommendation to insert a new section in Article IX., to read as follows, the committee amending by substituting the words "any organization" for "any union" in the first line, the amendment to read as follows:

Section 4. Any organization that has withdrawn or been suspended or expelled, and not reinstated as provided for in section 3 of this article, shall return its charter and seal to the office of the American Federation of Labor.

With the adoption of this amendment, Section 4 and 5 of Article IX will then read Sections 5 and 6 respectively.

Your committee non-concurs in Resolution No. 3, which reads as follows:

No. 3.—By Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis., Geo. Moerschel, Secretary:

1. Believing that the Federation would be helped by the system of an Executive Board, a Secretary-Treasurer and Organizers, we move the abolition of the office of president.

2. That the salaries of the officers of the Federation be reduced.

3. That the principle of the referendum be exercised in all future business.

Committee non-concurs.

Your committee also non-concurs in Resolution No. 3½, which is to the following effect:

No. 3½.—By Executive Board Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance; Woyt Losky, Secretary.

No union shall be recognized as a bona fide labor union which is not affiliated with a national or international body of its trade, if there be one. No union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be permitted to affiliate with any Central Labor Body or Central Trades Council in which non-affiliated unions, as described above, are represented.

Your committee approves of Resolution No. 8, by Henry J. Eikhoff, and suggests its insertion after the word "Federation," in the fifth line of Section 3 of Article VI. The amendment is as follows: "He shall on March 1 and September 1 of each year, forward to the Secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of names and addresses of secretaries and organizers in his possession."

Your committee non-concur in Resolution No. 9, by Delegate Eikhoff, which seeks to amend Section 4 of Article X, by adding the following words: "Of which the organizer organizing the union shall receive \$3 as a compensation."

Resolution No. 24, which reads as follows, is non-concurred in by your committee:

By I. T. U. delegation: Add following as new section to Article VI:

"The officers reports shall be mailed to all delegates-elect at least two weeks before the assembling of each annual convention."

Resolution N. 25, by I. T. U. delegation:

"Amend Section 3, Article VI, by striking out the words 'Committee on Credentials of the Federation, and substituting the following: 'Convention a list of delegates-elect showing those to whom objection has been made and the nature thereof, which shall be acted upon by those delegates whose right to seats is uncontested.'"

Non-concurred in by the committee.

Resolution No. 26, by I. T. U. delegation: "Amend Section 3, Article III, by striking out '1st. Credentials' and correcting in accordance therewith the succeeding numbers."

Your committee recommend non-concurrence.

Your committee approve the following and recommend reference to the incoming Executive Council:

Resolution No. 86, by Delegate Tracey:

That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to strictly enforce the constitution in relation to local unions affiliated with their national and international unions.

Resolution No. 87, by R. A. Mullen, Manhattan Musical Union:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor discontinue granting charters to new locals in localities where there is already a local of the same calling, unless the union in existence agrees to granting same.

In the estimation of your committee the action is necessary, as the subject matter is already covered by Section 3, Article X.

The Committee on Laws begs leave to submit the following amendments for the favorable consideration of the Convention:

By the committee:

Strike out Section 6 of Article IV, which reads as follows:

Sec. 6. When a local, national or international trade union shall send to a Convention a delegate who is not a bona fide craftsman of the trade he represents on the face of his credential, said union shall also send a statement to that effect to the Convention, stating the fact and giving reasons therefor.

By-committee:

Strike out Section 2 of Article V, as the question dealt with is covered by Section 2 of Article VI.

By the committee:

"Substitute the word 'exercise' for the word 'take' at the end of line 1 of Section 1, Article VI."

By the committee:

Amend Section 11, Article VI, by striking out the following words in the second and third lines thereof: "To publish a quarterly circular on January 31, April 30, July 31 and October 31 of each year."

Amend Section 3, Article VI, by striking out the words "quarterly circular and send ten copies," in line 12 and substitute therefor the following: "American Federationist, Monthly, and send one copy."

By the committee:

Substituting the word "Auditing" for "Finance," in the ninth line of Section 3, of Article VI.

By the committee:

Amend Section 4 of Article III, by striking out the words "Executive Council," and substituting "President" in lieu thereof; also, strike out the words "President or" in the same line.

Resolution 101—By Delegate Higgins:

RESOLVED, That charters be granted no Central Labor Body admitting to membership K. of L. Assemblies.

Non-concurred in.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Klapetzky:

RESOLVED, That the incoming executive officers having in charge the editing and publishing of the official journal known as the *Federationist*, shall provide for and publish in each issue of the said journal, the name and post-office address of all local, national or international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in order that in case of several local organizations of the same trade, they may know the address of their fellow craftsmen, and in this manner bring about the formation of a National or International Union, and also that local organizations affiliated with local Trades Assemblies may know that such National or International Union of their trade exists, and informing them where to write for the necessary information relative to their affiliation therewith.

Non-concurred in, as the matter is practically covered by a previous amendment.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Pomeroy:

RESOLVED, That all local unions affiliated with the American Federation through National or International organizations, or otherwise, be instructed to affiliate with the local Central Labor Union or Trades Assembly, and that only such unions as affiliate with the local central body be recognized as entitled to the support of organized labor in general.

Non-concurred in, your committee believing it inexpedient to legislate thereon.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Higgins:

RESOLVED, That commissions as organizers be granted only to members of organizations actually identified with the American Federation of Labor, said organizers to be employed at their trade or by their organization, and that employers are ineligible to appointment.

The committee approves and recommends adoption with an amendment striking out the words, "and, that employers are ineligible to appointment."

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Croke:

RESOLVED, That in all questions coming before the Convention that all Delegates, upon application, be permitted to cast the full vote of the organization that he or they represent."

Non-concurred in, as the matter is fully covered by custom and precedent.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate McNamara:

Amend Article IX, Section 1, by striking out all of that matter after the word "month" and inserting in lieu thereof, "and from Central Labor Unions of cities, \$6.25, payable quarterly, and \$3.12 from State Federations, payable quarterly. All moneys shall be payable to the Secretary of American Federation of Labor."

Non-concurred in.

By the committee:

Add following as new section to Article X, Constitution: "Section 9. The report of the Grievance Committee shall be considered in executive session."

Relative to the question of permanency of headquarters, referred to your committee, it would recommend the following amendment to Article X, Constitution:

"Section 10. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices for the transaction of the business of the organization at Indianapolis, Ind."

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Greenhalgh:

WHEREAS, The Trades Unions of Great Britain that have the highest dues and the greatest benefits are, in the opinion of David Holmes, the unions that are the most successful and most substantial; and

WHEREAS, There is at the present time but the paltry sum of a little over \$5,000 in the treasury of the American Federation of Labor, which would last but a short time should there occur a general strike amongst the most of the trades that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Should any concentrated effort be made—as, for instance, the demand for an eight-hour day—the American Federation of Labor would be in no position to support it; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 1 of Article IX be amended so as to read as follows: "The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From national and international trades unions, a per capita tax of one-half of one cent per member per month; from local trades unions and federal unions, two cents per month per member; and from Central Labor Unions of city and state federated bodies, \$10 every three months. All moneys shall be payable to the Secretary of the Federation."

Non-concurred in by the committee.

P. J. MCGUIRE,
MARTIN FOX,
P. H. PENNA,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
W. B. PRESCOTT.

Report of committee adopted.

Delegate Eikhoff offered the following, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Secretary shall mail to all delegates the proceedings of the last session within two days.

Delegate Bramwood offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Convention be and are hereby tendered to Messrs. Lunt and Buckman, President and Secretary of the Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce, and the Street Railway Company of that city, for the welcome and courtesies extended delegates who visited the Printers' Home on Sunday last.

On motion the officers of the International Typographical Union were included in the resolution. Adopted.

Delegate McCarthy offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor tender its heartfelt thanks to the press of the city of Denver for the fairness it has

pursued in placing the transactions of our Convention and the principles of labor before the public in a correct and efficient manner.

Unanimously adopted.

CONFERENCE WITH K. OF L.

The special committee elected at the previous Convention to confer with the Knights of Labor, reported as follows:

Mr. President and Delegates:—In accordance with the instructions of the Chicago Convention of the Federation of Labor, your representatives, Samuel Gompers, F. K. Foster and P. J. McGuire, attended the unity conference, held in St. Louis, Mo., June 11, 12, 1894.

The conference was held in the Laclede Hotel, and opened at 10:30 A. M., June 11. General Master Workman James R. Sovereign called the Assembly to order, and after reading the circular call for the conference he read the list of labor organizations invited. Mr. James R. Sovereign was chosen temporary chairman, and P. J. McGuire, temporary secretary. These officers were made permanent after organization of the conference had been perfected.

Credentials of conferrees were presented from:

Knights of Labor—James R. Sovereign, John W. Hayes and M. J. Bishop.

American Federation of Labor—Samuel Gompers, New York; F. K. Foster, Boston, Mass., and P. J. McGuire, Philadelphia, Pa.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—A. B. Youngson, Cleveland, Ohio; H. E. Wills, Clinton, Iowa, and E. A. Naylor, Murphysboro, Ill.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen—Frank P. Sargent, Terre Haute, Ind.; Frank W. Arnold, Terre Haute, Ind., and Charles W. Maier, Parsons, Kas.

Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen—S. E. Wilkinson, Galesburg, Ill.

Brotherhood of Railway Conductors—E. E. Clark, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union—I. E. Dean, Honey Falls, N. Y.; D. P. Duncan, Columbia, S. C., and Marion Butler, Goldsboro, N. C.

United Green Glass Workers' Association of the United States—John H. Gass, P. A. Farrell and August G. Schaun, all three residents of St. Louis.

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers were represented by J. T. Kelley, of St. Louis.

Mr. Sovereign, the representative of the Knights of Labor, by request, gave an explanation of the call for the conference, and urged the imperative necessity of a more thorough understanding and unity of purpose among all trade and labor organizations.

Next, Mr. J. M. Bishop, of the Knights of Labor, read the following document:

"1. RESOLVED, That once a year a congress of three representatives each of all the national labor organizations of America shall meet in the city of Washington for the purpose of considering all plans and questions that may be before the people in the industrial and political world, with a view to bringing about united action in the following year on these questions; said congress to meet on the 22d day of February of each year, and its officers to be composed of a president, a secretary and a treasurer, and an executive committee of one from each organization represented.

"2. RESOLVED, That all questions of dispute between organizations of labor as to form of organization, jurisdiction of members and action in strike matters, or minor controversies that may arise, shall be referred to a committee of arbitration of three members set to; said arbitration committee to be composed of one member of some national trade union, one member of some body of the Knights of Labor, and a third to be selected by the congress from the ranks of the people who are neither directly nor indirectly connected with any labor organization, and he shall, as far as possible, be removed from any connection with industrial or political questions, aiming at all times to secure a man of the highest character, integrity and statesmanship.

"3. RESOLVED, That hereafter when any national or international strike, involving more than one thousand men, shall be contemplated, it shall not be entered into until it has been referred to the executive committee of the annual congress heretofore referred to, and if it secures their endorsement it shall receive the united support, financially and morally, of all labor organizations represented in said congress, and, if necessary, the executive committee of said congress shall have power to order or request the executive boards of the organizations affiliated to call out all their members to support said strike, and in every way endeavor to make the first object of all organization its success.

"4. RESOLVED, That we hereby agree that on and after the Fourth of July, 1894, the organizations herein represented shall agree to mutually recognize the working cards of every bona fide organization herein represented in any trade or calling, and that a member's good standing in one organization shall insure him recognition, assistance and support by all members of organized labor herein represented.

"5. RESOLVED, That we recommend to the labor organizations of America, that where two or more organizations of the same craft exist in any city, or town, or locality, that they shall at once, or as soon after the 22d of February, 1895, as possible, appoint joint executive committees to arrange wage scales and hours of work mutually satisfactory, and thenceforward endeavor to secure such benefits as may arise from higher wages and shorter work day by joint efforts.

"6. RESOLVED further, That we hereby recommend to the working people of our various organizations, that in the coming campaigns and elections all members of organized labor cast their ballots against the two old political parties, and endeavor wherever possible to elect the third party candidate, unless said third party candidates shall avow themselves inimical to the interests of the masses; and believing, further, that the People's Party presents the most available means to an end, we suggest that they, at least for the present, receive the encouragement and support of united labor."

After a number of motions and amendments had been offered, it was finally agreed to enter into an informal discussion. The general sentiment of the representatives of the railway men that the call for the conference from the Knights of Labor had given them but brief notice to attend (it had been issued late in the month of May, though the Knights of Labor General Assembly had ordered the call in the month of November previous), and hence the railway men's representatives could not fully

commit themselves officially to the work of the conference without first consulting their respective memberships. Still, personally, they were in hearty accord with the aims and purposes of the conference, and considered it very desirable to have a more thorough understanding, and a closer unity of all labor bodies.

The propositions submitted by the Knights of Labor, after lengthy debate, were referred to a committee of three, to report thereon. The committee consisted of Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor; M. J. Bishop, of the Knights of Labor, and Charles W. Maier, of the Locomotive Firemen.

Later on the committee reported, and it was decided to hold semi-annual conferences to effect a better understanding, and that the first conference be held February 22, 1895.

Point after point of the committee's report was deliberately and carefully discussed, and on several test questions as to the correctness of the principles of the American Federation of Labor in upholding trade union autonomy, and opposing dual organizations in one craft, the conference again and again sustained that principle by a vote of 13 to 5, the delegates of the Knights of Labor, the Farmers' Alliance, and Railway Trainmen voting in the negative.

The conference ultimately agreed on the following declarations:

"1. A conference of the representatives of organized labor of North America shall be held semi-annually, the first conference to be held on the 22d of February, 1895, at the city of Washington, D. C., for the purpose of considering questions, and devising plans for the protection and advancement of the interests of the toiling masses.

"2. Representation in the conferences shall be from the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and such national and international labor organizations as are not affiliated with either; Provided, That any such national or international labor organization is not organized to antagonize or undermine any existing or bona fide national or international labor union of the same trade or calling.

"3. Each organization entitled to representation in these conferences shall be empowered to send three delegates.

"4. The officers of the conference shall consist of a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee of one from each organization represented.

"5. For the purpose of preventing strife and antagonism between labor organizations, we declare that there should not be dual organization or authority in any one trade or calling; and that in all matters of trade conflicts, boycotts and trade labels the union particularly interested should have absolute authority and autonomy.

"6. Recognizing that the corporation and moneyed class of the country are dominating and dictating the legislature of the nation, the states and municipalities, to the detriment of the interests of the toiling and wealth-producing masses, and recognizing, further, that the power of wealth has subordinated the executive, judicial and military force to its behests, thus undermining the underlying principles of our republic, endangering its institutions, and tending to deprive our people of their cherished liberties, we declare that the working masses should throw off the yoke of political partisanship to vote independently, in order that representatives of the wealth pro-

ducers of America may be fully represented in the making and the execution of our laws.

The following resolution, submitted by Mr. Samuel Gompers, was unanimously agreed to:

"RESOLVED, That this conference of representatives of organized labor of America has learned with profound pleasure of the successful termination of the miners' movement for improved conditions, and we hereby tender to the United Mine Workers of America our sincere congratulations upon their victory. We urge upon the workers of our country the imperative necessity and advantage of likewise organizing for their common protection and advancement, to the end that their share may be larger in the returns from their labor, and that the action of the miners in their late manly and determined struggle may be a fruitful lesson and incentive to all classes of wage workers."

It was next unanimously decided to send a telegram to Congress endorsing the seamen's bills, particularly House Bill No. 5603.

The conference decided to submit, through each delegation present, the action of the conference to their constituents, and if a sufficient number agree to calling the conference February 22, 1895, that a committee of three from this body be authorized to arrange the same.

Messrs. F. P. Sargent, J. W. Hayes and P. J. McGuire were chosen as the committee. Thereupon the conference adjourned at 7:10 P. M., June 12, 1894.

It is the unanimous sentiment of your committee that the differences which have arisen between the trade and mixed organizations of labor are organic, rather than special. The essential ground work of the trade union movement is the complete control of the affairs of the trade by the members of that trade. Any violation of this principle is so manifestly in antagonism to the recorded policy of the Federation of Labor, both so theoretically unsound and practically unwise, that your representatives felt warranted in maintaining the position that so far as trade affairs, at least, were concerned, no interchange of cards or duality of trade government could be accepted by them as a basis for "harmony."

As the reason for our position has been so fully set forth by the special committees appointed upon this subject, at both the Boston and Birmingham conventions of the Federation, it would be superfluous to recapitulate them in detail.

The central fact is, that the trade union depends for a large measure of its effectiveness to the solidarity of craftsmen affected, and there is nothing to warrant the assumption that this solidarity can exist at the same time with dual organization and control.

As will be noted, the position of the Federation on this question received the unanimous endorsement of the trade organizations participating in the conference, the dissenting votes being cast by the representatives of the Knights of Labor and the Farmers Alliance.

Upon the same general ground, your delegates were not able to assent to the proposition coming from the Knights of Labor, for the direction of industrial contests of magnitude, by mixed committees, composed in part of outside parties, of whom there could be no assurance of responsibility to, or sympathy with, the class interest of labor. Further than this, we held it entirely improbable than any of the great national or international trade societies

represented in the Federation would consent to surrender—even if the Federation should so far depart from its established policy as to desire it—any part of that control and discipline over its craft which they have built up, oftentimes with infinite expense, labor and sacrifice.

While the Federation recognizes the absolute autonomy of each affiliated body, which carries with it the right of such body to adopt any plan of conciliation or arbitration with other labor societies as it may see fit, it would be manifestly illogical for us to cede away any portion of this autonomy, by accepting the proposition as to strikes and contests, emanating from the Knights of Labor.

The proposition made as to political action—i. e., that the People's Party be endorsed, we also hold to be beyond the scope of the powers vested in your committee, entirely apart from the intrinsic merits of this political organization. The trade union movement has always urgently advocated an independent use of the ballot, but the Federation cannot with judiciousness imperil the economic integrity of its affiliated bodies by espousing partisanship even in a third party form. Much less could your committee, pending the result of the discussion of the platform which has been submitted to the trade unions of the country for consideration, by action of our last Convention, assume to speak for the vast body of our membership, or pledge them to the support of any particular platform or principles.

The essential of unity in the labor movement is not so much external agreement upon certain forms, as internal disposition to harmonize. To this end we are sure that those agencies will contribute which bring in personal contact the sincere and unprejudiced representatives of labor. For that reason we hold it a distinct step in advance that provision was made at the St. Louis conference for a semi-annual meeting of the representatives of the divergent reform forces, and we recommend that this Convention endorse the proposition for this conference to be held the coming February, and elect three delegates to attend on behalf of this body.

While we are obliged to confess that the apparent determination of the Knights of Labor representatives at St. Louis to maintain the propriety of dual organizations in a trade was a source of regret to your delegates—as it was a virtual declaration in favor of the continuance of that unhappy policy which has been attended with so much friction in the past, yet we feel that the overwhelming consensus of opinion as expressed by the other delegates present, warrants us in assuming that the past attitude of the Federation is the only tenable one for the trade union movement to persist in, and we recommend adherence to the principle that the field of trade government belongs to the trade organization.

We are convinced that evolutionary trade unionism contains within itself the germs of growth and expansion to the loftiest heights of human aspiration, and that the temporary annoyance of obstructionists is preferable to the surrender of any jot or tittle of those principles of economic truth upon which our organizations are based.

We believe in harmony; but that harmony, in our judgment, can only be brought about by a firm insistence that the trade union shall be permitted to occupy unmolested its natural

and historic field of labor for the benefit and advancement of the wage-earning classes.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
F. K. FOSTER,
P. J. MCGUIRE.

Moved that the report be adopted.

Delegate McBryde moved to amend as follows:

That the American Federation of Labor holds itself in readiness to meet at all times with sincere men in the reform movement, but refuses to meet with the Knights of Labor as at present constituted, and until that body recognizes the principle of trade autonomy, and ceases to encourage dual authority in any one trade.

The amendment was adopted and the report concurred in as amended.

A committee consisting of John McBride, Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire was elected a committee to the next conference of trades unions, in 1895.

The Committee on Boycotts reported:

The delegates of the National Brewery Workmen's Union of the United States, ask the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to endorse the labels of the above named National Union.

Committee reported adversely.

Moved that the endorsement of the label of the Brewers be refused as long as they remain affiliated with the Knights of Labor. Carried.

Brockton, Mass., Dec. 12, 1894.

Samuel Gompers, Esq., American Federation Convention:

The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Council, of Brockton, sends greetings to the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, and earnestly requests the delegates to endorse the united label of the Shoe Workers, thus assisting in cementing more closely the various unions of Shoe Workers throughout the country.

JOHN A. MURPHY,
General Secretary.

Delegate Weismann moved that the matter be placed before the Executive Council, with instructions to endorse the label.

The Secretary of the Federation being absent, discussion was suspended and Delegate Dornell offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The retiring Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, Chris Evans, has, through long years of devotion to trade union principles, closely identified with the organization of his craft, and through that with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, His efficient services as a member of his trade organization, alike in peace and strife, have endeared him to his associates in his craft; and

WHEREAS, His industry and ability, for which he was so widely known among his craftsmen for so many years, have been manifested in his official capacity in the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in severing his official relationship with the American Federation of

Labor, this Convention reassures him of its confidence in his integrity, honesty and sterling trades unionism, and heartily commend him to the trades unions of our land as one worthy of their esteem.

RESOLVED, That the above resolution be spread on our minutes, and the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to cause the same to be engrossed, framed and presented to our retiring Secretary, Christopher Evans.

Unanimously carried.

Discussion on the Shoe Workers' label was resumed.

Motion that the label be endorsed and that the Executive Council be empowered to withdraw endorsement if the interests of the boot and shoe workers and American Federation of Labor be no longer subserved. Carried.

Motion by Delegate Prescott that the resolutions referring to boycotts, not yet presented by the committee, be referred to the Executive Council.

A point of order was raised that the boycotts approved by the committee had not been decided upon by the Executive Council.

The point of order was decided well taken.

Delegate Prescott's motion was carried.

By Delegate O'Sullivan:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the American Federation of Labor be tendered to organized labor through the Trades and Labor Assembly, and to the city officials and citizens of the city of Denver, for their magnanimous hospitality to the delegates to the Convention.

Unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 84. By. Delegate Stern, relative to retail clerks. Concurred in.

Resolution No. 78, endorsing a label of Journeymen Horseshoers. Concurred in.

The committee reported the following:

WHEREAS, The union labels of the various trade unions are being counterfeited in numerous instances;

WHEREAS, The trade-mark and label laws in the several states offer but partial protection to the union labels;

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby directed to inquire into the feasibility of passing a federal law for the protection of labels and trade-marks, and if in their judgment such legislation can be obtained that they take proper steps to secure its speedy enactment.

Approved.

The committee reported further:

Your Committee on Labels and Boycotts have had under consideration the question of the best method of advertising all labels of organized labor, and your committee recommend the following:

That the Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to submit to the officials of all organizations the following plan of advertising union labels:

First--By means of label agitators to be sent out by and at the expense of the individual organizations, who shall act as advertisers and agitators of all union labels, whose routes shall be so arranged by mutual agreement of the organizations sending out such agitators so as not to conflict.

Second--By means of label lecturers with stereopticon views to be sent out by the American Federation of Labor, who shall act as label agitators and organizers in the interest of all unions having labels; such lecturers shall be furnished with a small book containing a cut of all labels, with a brief argument favoring their use, the expense of which shall be borne by affiliated bodies having union labels by per capita assessment; provided, these plans shall be approved by organizations having labels.

Referred to Executive Council.

Resolution No. 39, endorsing hand stamp of Lasters' Union.

Reported without recommendation.

A motion was made that the hand stamp of the Lasters' Union be endorsed.

Delegate McBryde moved that the Federation endorse the stamp only so far as they are placed on union made shoes.

The amendment was carried and the resolution as amended was adopted.

Delegate Wolfson was recorded as voting in the negative.

Resolution No. 58, on boycotts of Clement Bane & Co., wholesale clothing manufacturers of Chicago:

WHEREAS, The firm of Clement Bane & Co., wholesale clothiers, of Chicago, Ill., continue to discriminate against union men, refuses to abide by the prevailing conditions of the trade and to even entertain the grievances of the union; and

WHEREAS, Said firm is also one of the list of dealers handling convict-made goods, as published in the New York Herald of October 26, in connection with the exposure of methods of manufacturing clothing in Sing Sing prison; it also having been shown that this extensive system of manufacturing in competition with free labor has been carried on while small-pox and other diseases prevail; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend to the public and organized labor not to patronize the goods or deal with any clothing dealer handling the goods of said manufacturers.

The report on this resolution was concurred in.

Resolution No. 57:

WHEREAS, The firm of Hackett, Carhart & Co., wholesale clothiers of New York, are discriminating against union men, and refuse to pay the prevailing standard of wages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend to the public and organized labor to refuse to patronize or deal with any retail clothier handling the goods of said manufacturers.

Concurred in.

Report of Committee on Labels and Boycotts continued.

Denver, Col., Dec. 18, 1894.
Officers and Delegates of the Fourteenth Annual Convention American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Labels and Boycotts organized by selecting John B. Lennon as chairman and John F. Tobin as secretary.

Resolution No. 7, by Metal Polishers, Buffers' and Platers' Union, asking that a boycott be placed on the products of the Western Wheel Bicycle Company is recommended, subject to condition attached to resolution.

Resolution No. 17, of Typographical Union No. 13, of Boston, Mass., asking for a boycott on the Boston Pilot, Boston Republic and the Arena.

Reported favorably.

Resolution No. 18, by Delegate McCraith asking that all labor papers be requested to publish continuously a list of unfair concerns and products.

Reported favorably.

Resolution No. 23, by Delegate Croke, asking for a uniform label for all trades.

Reported unfavorably.

Resolution No. 27, by Delegates Daly and Wolfson, requesting affiliated unions to refuse the products of the Glendale Fabric Company, of East Hampton, Mass., and the Hopedale Manufacturing Company, of Hopedale, Mass.

Reported favorably.

Resolution No. 31, by Delegates Daly and Wolfson, reindorsement of boycott on the products of Baure Crawford, Brockton, Mass., A. F. Smith, Lynn, Mass., and Hamilton Brown Shoe Company, St. Louis, Mo.

Resolution No. 32, By Beef Boners' Union, 6151, American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, Mo., asking boycott on products of Armour Packing Company.

Reported favorably.

Resolution No. 38, by Delegate Felz, asking members and friends of labor unions to demand the label on all suits and cloaks.

Reported favorably.

Resolution No. 43, by Delegate Chester, asking endorsement of boycott on products of Mesker Bros., St. Louis.

Executive Council are requested to try and settle trouble. Reported favorably.

The report of the committee was then adopted as a whole as amended.

Upon motion the report of the Executive

Council was referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Mr. David Holmes, the delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, was then called upon, and addressed the Convention at length, dwelling upon the great struggle made by labor of the world on trade union lines. He conveyed the fraternal greetings of the organized workers of Great Britain, commended the manner in which the business of the Convention was transacted, and hoped for the time when the bond of fraternity would encircle the globe.

President Gompers fittingly responded, and referred to the great sacrifices made by the Lancashire weavers in the interest of labor and the abolition of black slavery in the South during the war 1861-5.

Delegate McGuire then feelingly and eloquently addressed the Convention upon the issues of the day, to which Mr. Morgan responded. Some feeling had been manifested by these delegates, but advancing they shook hands, and pledged to each other a unity of work in the struggle for labor.

President Gompers then referred to the work of the Convention, and expressed his gratification with the outcome. All in all there was nothing to regret, and much to hope for the future. He asked all to co-operate to make the coming year a memorable one in its successes for the wage-earners of our country and the world. He also hoped for a safe return of the delegates to their homes, a pleasant and prosperous New Year.

After the delegates in chorus sang "Auld Lang Syne," no further business appearing before the Convention, upon motion it adjourned *sine die*.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

H. H. BUCKWALTER, Assistant Secretary.

INTERESTING MOMENTS IN AND OUT OF THE CONVENTION.

MR. KENEHAN'S WELCOME.

In welcoming the delegates to Denver Mr. R. Kenchan, President of the Trades and Labor Assembly, said, in part:

"The pleasure of welcoming the international representatives of organized labor to Colorado cannot be portrayed in formal utterances by her citizens, who deeply appreciate the grave importance of the gathering. This meeting of delegates, representing the wage earners not only of America, but those beyond the sea, is fraught with weal or woe for the closing years of the century.

"I am here to extend to you the greeting of those united in unlifting the masses to that constitutional plane of the pursuit and enjoyment of happiness ordained by the laws of nature.

"It represents a freedom and independence inherited from those who founded the republic and placed the seal of condemnation upon peonage.

"It is the right hand of brotherhood conveying hearty cheer to nobler workers in the cause of humanity.

"For those who have crossed the Atlantic to join in the deliberations for emancipation I repeat the invitation of every habitation in the mountains, 'Abide with us.

"While I cannot now point in pride and encouragement to the curling spires of smoke and flame marking a thousand camps on as many mountain sides along the backbone of the continent, I need not tell you why they are deserted. You have seen and heard the advance guards who were driven from the national common when they were denied the right to petition.

"The beacon lights of hope and freedom still burn brightly, fed by a hardy, independent race of mountaineers, the cream of a rugged manhood gathered from the sections you represent. From their ranks have sprung the master minds which have made the rose blossom in the desert and spanned the snow-fed torrent for the iron horse. By those lights they bid you hold your course.

"The welcome of the bright sunshine, beaming through a pure atmosphere, gives you God-speed in your convocation. The roar of the mountain torrents through their granite channels calls attention to object lessons of persistent effort, and join in a greeting from the cloud-capped summits."

The gentleman here eloquently portrayed the wrong inflicted on the people by the anti-silver legislation of Congress, and urged unity of action to restore silver to its rightful position.

"The working classes look for the edicts of federation which will go forth through you from the Centennial State that are to proclaim peace and plenty throughout the land.

"While engaged in your noble work,

sterling silver of Colorado's greeting will multiply a thousand fold the welcome so often expressed in Celtic tongue."

Mr. Kenchan's remarks were received by the delegates with much applause. As President Gompers rose to respond he was given another ovation by the assemblage. He said, in part, in response to the welcome:

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' RESPONSE.

"To you and through you to the wage-earners of Denver, the Western States and the intermountain region, I desire to express the thanks of this body for your hearty and characteristic welcome. We look forward to some earnest work during this Convention. We do not expect to deal with the chimerical. We find ourselves confronted with a need for practical legislation. More than a million and a half of laboring men are unemployed to-day. It is enough to make strong men weep and draw forth tears of pity from the hardest heart.

"It is not often that a Convention of wage-earners can be held in a city so far distant from the centre of industry, but after all it may have been a disposition of kindness that last year it was decided to hold this Convention at Denver. Wherever the next Convention may be held, we still repeat the struggle of the past and the present, with all the fervor of our being, and hope for the future, for the toiling masses of our country. I repeat our appreciation to our brothers of Denver for their kindly welcome, and I trust our deliberations shall meet their expectations."

During and at the close of Mr. Gompers' remarks he was heartily applauded.

OUR FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

President Gompers in the afternoon introduced the visitors from England, John Burns and David Holmes. He said these comrades from over the sea had traveled nearly 6,000 miles to be present at this meeting. They needed no further introduction. It had been arranged to postpone their regular addresses until later in the week. John Burns was presented first, and the applause that greeted his rising lasted for several minutes, and the enthusiasm was not expended until three rousing cheers had been given. He stood unmoved through it all, apparently anxious for it to subside that he might give utterance to some of the thoughts that must have crowded his mind at this moment. When all was quiet he began:

JOHN BURNS' REMARKS.

"As delegates from the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, Mr. Holmes and myself

have great pleasure in attending the first convention of American labor at which English labor is represented. We represent a million and a quarter of English workmen and 400 delegates who participated in the Norwich Convention. That Congress was one of the most representative of the many held in England within the last thirty years. Out of the 400 delegates over 100 were either members of Parliament, magistrates, members of school boards or guardians of town or county councils. It indicated that trades unionism had obtained a footing in England such as we should be pleased to hear American labor had secured in this country within the next few years. We also have scattered throughout Great Britain and Ireland on these various boards and members of these bodies at least 1,200 bona fide workmen, 99 per cent of whom are accredited delegates of their respective unions. In behalf of that representative assemblage we come to this beautiful city to attend this Convention. Our presence here is a unique event in the history of the international labor movement.

"What England has initiated in competitive industry, America has eclipsed in industrial monopoly. Yes, I repeat it, what England initiated in competitive industry America has eclipsed in industrial monopoly. The evils of the capitalistic system which have been wiped out in England for many years are now seen in much the same degree in many American communities. The trades union movement in Great Britain has been the chief source of agitation, encouragement, direction, in these reforms. For twenty-seven years they have voiced the feelings of organized and unorganized labor in England. America may find something worthy of emulation in us.

"You sit here to-day to deal with the industrial evils which oppress your country. Your leaders may be different and so may your constituents and your methods. Let me hope your deliberate judgment, your common sense and your impartiality will guide you in everything you do. Let everything you do be characterized by firmness, toleration, conciliation, cohesion; by that moral courage which the labor movement throughout the world has lacked too frequently. Let your ideal of to-day be the reality of to-morrow. Make personalities subordinate to principle. Stamp out partisanship. If that is done, though seas divide us, we are one in our aspirations. May we say on our return to our own country that this is not the last convention of labor in America which will have representatives from Europe.

"Let me, in conclusion, say that later in the week I hope to speak to you more fully on these subjects and on the movement in my country. But before that let me thank American labor for its hearty sympathy, for the magnanimous way in which we have been received since our landing on American soil. It has transcended everything we had conceived. One way in which we can reciprocate the greeting is to go from city to city stirring up in the minds of the disorganized, the discontented, to the realization that if in an old country across the sea labor can secure so many triumphs, America's young nation ought to exceed everything we have done in England. If we can but increase the membership of your organization, all we can say is that we did our duty as we should have done, and the cause of international labor profited thereby."

Mr. Burns' remarks brought the delegates to a high pitch of enthusiasm and every period was punctuated with prolonged applause. At the conclusion of the brief address Mr. Burns explained that Mr. Holmes was suffering from an extreme cold and could hardly talk aloud. He asked the Convention to excuse him at this time, but he hoped to speak to them at length at another time. The excuse was cordially received and Mr. Burns' colleague was given a hearty encore, though he did not speak.

In replying to Mr. Burns' words President Gompers said that the true response came from the heart and was not to be told in words. The presence of these brethren from across the sea would strengthen and help them. "With all our shortcomings," he said, "we will endeavor to make your stay as pleasant as possible, and we trust when you come to know us as we are you will find that we have performed our duty to our fellow-workers and have been true to our cause; that you will find in us something to commend as well as criticize. We know your presence will be of mutual advantage and tend to bind the workers of England and America more closely into a "Brotherhood of Labor."

On Tuesday the delegates were taken to Silver Plume and a mass meeting was held, at which interesting addresses were delivered by the Mayor of the town, the Aldermen, John Burns, David Holmes, Samuel Gompers, P. J. McGuire and the Mayor of Denver.

MASS-MEETING.

On Wednesday evening a mass-meeting was held at the Broadway Theater. The audience was representative of the population. It was composed of laboring men, ex-Governors and ex-United States Senators, bankers, capitalists, university professors, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and a big sprinkling of women. The members of the City Council came in a body and occupied front seats. The Musicians' Union attended in a body and serenaded the speakers as they entered the hall. The delegates to the Convention attended in a body. On the stage were seated the officers of the Federation and many ladies.

President Roddy Kenehan, of the Denver Trades Assembly, introduced Mr. Gompers as the chairman of the evening. In taking the chair, Mr. Gompers said:

CHAIRMAN GOMPERS' REMARKS.

"The Committee on Arrangements has selected your humble servant as the president of this meeting. Back of this action on its part there is, I presume, a well directed effort con-

cealed beneath the compliment. The chairman, as a rule, is not supposed to say much, and they imposed the duties of the position on me in the hope that I would not make any speeches. (Laughter.) But I am going to take this opportunity to get in a few words. It has been my proud pleasure to visit Denver on two previous occasions, and to address large audiences while here. It might not be improper to say a word or two in connection with this great labor movement. What is it? The world stands aghast and asks what is it, and whether one discusses it or abuses it from his own standpoint, yet he is continually asking this question over and over again. This movement, ladies and gentlemen, is the outgrowth of what is unjust in our social system and political life. It is the concentrated opinion and complaint of the millions of wage-workers that there is something wrong in the basis of modern society. There are some people who pray for the poor one day in the week and prey on the poor six days in the week. (Cheers.) There are some who, in their prayers, no doubt, wish that labor organizations, organizers and agitators might occupy a warmer climate, but their prayers go unheeded. The labor organizer, the labor agitator, has come to stay. He is the advocate, the defender, the protector of the working class under all conditions. He occupies the same relative position in society as the alarm bell. We all dislike very much to be awakened from our slumbers by the alarm bell, but we prefer it to being roasted. So the labor agitator and organizer sounds the alarm of danger. The fact that we are called professional agitators should be a compliment. We are proud to know that agitating has arisen to the dignity of a profession. The labor movement is the living expression of the toiling masses, who have too long suffered from mal-administration. We want more to-day, more to-morrow. There is no limit to our demands for more until justice shall have been established between man and man. The labor movement stands for that which kills all that is mean and selfish and contemptible, and instills in its place truth and that which is best and noblest in humanity. It is a voice from the factory. It is the mutterings of the child in the factory, the mill and in the stores to rescue it from the hellish places where the almighty dollar reigns supreme. So long as there are children in factories, in stores and workshops who ought to be at school, or at play, so long is there work for labor organizations to do. Wherever the people are downtrodden, wherever man is denied his just rights, there is work for labor organizations to do. Until the time when a man can look his brother man in the face and the universal brotherhood of man prevails, there is work for labor organizations to do."

ADDRESS OF DAVID HOLMES.

Mr. Holmes was received with applause. He said:

"I am sure you will excuse me if I say at the outset that I am suffering from a cold I contracted coming here from Chicago, and I will not be able to occupy much of your time. Mr. Burns and I were sent across the Atlantic to convey to you the good wishes of our fellow-workers in the old country. Those who have sent us here have been able to collect and organize the scattered workers until the Trades Union Congress to-day represents

1,500,000 workmen. I hope the sounds from this meeting to-night will be echoed throughout the country. Organization seems to me to be the first duty of every man and woman who labors. As a broad proposition I will put before you that in our country wherever unionism exists, the best conditions of labor exist, and the highest wages prevail, and wherever the workmen are not organized the worst conditions exist and the lowest wages are paid. There is no room in the ranks of American trades unions for dissension. If you expect to achieve anything you must close your ranks and must present an individual front to the capitalism of America. The Federation in America seems to be taking after the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. Since the establishment of the Congress some twenty-six or twenty-seven years ago we have been able to get through the House of Commons no less than sixty acts of Parliament all bearing directly on the labor question. We have also been able to have removed many oppressive laws, until to-day there are no more independent workmen on earth than those of Great Britain. They have to thank themselves. I am told you have many objectionable labor laws on your statute books in this country. If you have it serves you right, for you are masters of the situation. I am told that in many sections of your country your workmen are reduced to what might be termed slavery; that the toilers in many of your villages and towns are so tied to the spot that they are unable to leave if they desired to do so. I am told that the houses they live in belong to the company they work for; that if they even desire a small sum in advance on their wages they are charged interest on it. The remedy lies at your own door. Why, I am told you have not a single direct labor representative in Congress. The handful of labor representatives in our House of Commons has accomplished miracles. Their mere presence there has been sufficient to check their opponents from taking any aggressive measures against them. I heard in New York it was impossible to organize your female workers. You must do this. If you neglect it reaction will set in and the women will be compelled from force of circumstances to take the places of the men.

"They in turn, will be displaced by boys, and the boys by girls. You people have aims and purposes to improve the conditions of life. But before you will achieve this you must organize in a manner that you will be able to control wages. You must begin with the children, as we do in England. There we inculcate organization into the children as a part of their education. When you have done this the best days for labor are not past, but to come."

JOHN B. LENNON.

Secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union, then addressed the meeting briefly, urging self-reliance and organization as well as mutual good will among the working people of our land.

ADDRESS OF JOHN BURNS.

Chairman Gompers then introduced John Burns, of London. Mr. Burns spoke substantially as follows:

"It is with great pleasure that I for the first time appear before a large audience of Denver citizens that I venture to co-operate

with my fellow-workingmen of American in attempting to put forth some reason why the labor agitator has come to stay. Poverty is crying out to the world for cohesion, union, and co-operation. I venture to say to-night that irrespective of race, creed, color, constitution, religion, ethics, morality and custom that the world is face to face with evidences of a social disintegration the like of which Rome never witnessed and Greece did not suffer, the potentialities of which may bring social anarchy on us. The problems that men face to-day are very different from those of old. Then man was occupied with the conquest and subjugation of native tribes, in the field of religious propaganda and religious persecution. Modern society is face to face with the social problem, which Carlyle said was the greatest of the age. In every country that I have traveled I have seen phases of it. Wherever I have been in America they are observable. I have seen it in America. How?

"First—In the poverty visible in all your large cities.

"Second—By the prostitution that one sees in this city.

"Why you have more prostitution in proportion to the population that the modern Babylon that claims me for a citizen. It is no good for capitalists to talk of fancied security, for newspapers to hulk their readers or for religious or temperance orators to think this industrial problem can be remedied by any orthodox methods or remedies. To solve it you must have a base of action, you must get at bed rock; you must remedy the conditions that makes poverty possible. In the old countries poverty is chronic. Here it is acute and recurring. Over there we have a system of militarism and despotism that annually takes 12,000,000 able-bodied men from the ranks of labor for the support of despots. I know what I am talking about. I have been a soldier myself. And to escape this militarism thousands of the poor from those countries seek your shores. I was told by an American shortly after my arrival here that you have 25,000 soldiers in this country. I replied that is just 24,900 too many. It costs less to pay a schoolmaster than to enroll a soldier. Your American Rothschilds sweat the miners of Pennsylvania, and when they have made their fortune go to England and become the greatest of snobs and toadies. (Prolonged cheering.) In new countries speculation is rife. Where despotism is not, gambling is. Speculation has become a commercial and social disease. See what steam and science have produced. Their authors have said that they would put poverty underground. Have they done it?

"Education from which so much was expected has not done it. You are taught in your schools that a man may go 'from Log House to White House.' Friends, that's no longer true. (Cheers.) That's the way Napoleon humbugged his soldiers on the battlefield. Temperance is a yard stick in the mile race of life for a workingman. When I was in Chicago recently I was asked what I thought of Chicago as a Londoner. I replied that from what I had seen it was a pocket edition of hell. 'Come, come,' said my questioner, 'don't be so severe.' 'Well, then,' I said, 'if Chicago is not a pocket edition of hell, hell is a pocket edition of Chicago.' I am told in America that you consider the labor agitator a leach and demagogue. That is not true. If it were why do politicians take so much pains to seduce them from their followers. I think that the organizers of labor are the modern replica of the apostles of old. You must distinguish

between the demagogue and the agitator. What is a trade union? What caused it? There was no such thing in the middle ages. The factory system produced it, that system that knows no man only as an automaton, to produce so much wealth for idlers to spend. It sprung from the capital system that knows no sex. Capital has no compassion. It has no body to be kicked, no soul to be damned. Through this system production has been placed in the hands of a few, and your workmen have been individualized. Your workingmen are as well educated as any I have seen. Unionism has come to stay, and in proportion as it grows there is hope for the American people. If you don't join your union you are an enemy to your own class. Be consistent, give back the higher wage unions secured for you or join them.

"Another question that I wish to touch upon is the unemployed. Why, you have more men out of work in Denver in proportion to the population than we have in London. There we have abolished the contract system. I understand that in Denver your women enjoy both the State and municipal suffrage. In these respects they are in a unique position. They can be a power for good in municipal affairs."

In conclusion Mr. Burns impressed the audience with the necessity of cleaner and purer politics in the administration of municipal affairs. He advised all workingmen to take an active part in politics, irrespective of party.

P. J. McGuire made a short speech, praising the work labor unions have accomplished, and urged the wage workers to a more thorough unity of action upon every field of activity and usefulness in the interest of all.

On Friday evening, a grand hall was tendered the delegates and friends. It was a most enjoyable affair.

Saturday evening, a meeting was held in the St. James Hotel, at which Governor Waite, John Burns, David Holmes, Mrs. Eva McDonald-Valesh, Mrs. Morgan and Samuel Compers addressed the Women's Reform Association of Denver.

Early Sunday morning, the delegates, their wives and friends were taken upon a chartered train to Colorado Springs, had dinner at the International Typographical Union's Home for aged and infirm printers. A trip to Pike's Peak and the return home late in the evening concluded a most charming day. The excursion was arranged by the Trades and Labor Assembly.

A dinner to the delegates tendered on Tuesday evening by Mr. Clark of the St. James Hotel was the closing festival of the Denver Convention.

During the evenings, that is from December 10 to 17, one or more Union meetings were held at which delegates of the trade and from other trades were in attendance, and delivered telling speeches in favor of organization and the further prosecution of the great cause of labor.



